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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1937

THE PLAN OF FEDERATION OF INDIA : GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

SIR A. P. PATRO, K.C.I.E., KT.

FOR more than a quarter of a century, "United India," "United States of India," "Greater India," have been the ideals and aspirations of patriotic Indian publicists. Reports of Royal Commissions and of individual statesmen conceived greater India in various models of constitutional changes and visualised schemes according to their appreciation of Indian political conditions. People of British India desired full self-government. To attain the Federal ideal was found to be most suitable in the hope of the eventual assimilation of Indian States and British-India in one National Government under an all-India Federation. Closer union between British India and the Indian States is essential for the achievement of Greater India. The rapid growth and development of liberal political ideas in British India and the changes which are taking place in the politics of other countries after the Great War, awakened a new spirit in this country, the spirit of nationalism. In the States the enlightened rulers realised in an increasing measure their responsibilities to India as a whole. In response to the growing aspirations for full Self-Govern-

ment in British India, the States most generously conceded that they would give opportunities to their own subjects for expression of their views and sentiments in an organised manner. Representative assemblies, though advisory, were established and to executives were delegated certain powers, to act on their behalf though not responsible to the Assembly. Other important constitutional changes were also introduced. The rulers sympathised with the political aspirations of British India and agreed to help them to realise responsibility in the Central Government which was made conditional upon an all-India Federation with the Indian States included. This generous gesture assisted the practical possibility of Indian Federation. The Government of India Act of 1935 may be said to be the effective solution of the difficulty of reconciling responsible self-government in British India with the sovereignty of States. As a matter of fact, the ruler of an Indian State was supreme in his sphere. The only control over him was the Paramount Power of the Sovereign exercised through the Governor-General in Council. This conception of sovereignty of States derives its support from the terms and the language of several treaties, that refer to sovereignty of States and the treaties and engagements are said to be binding also under the Government of India Act of 1935 (S. 12g). The States are sovereign not in the sense of 'Independent National Sovereignties,' they acknowledge their allegiance and loyalty and to some extent dependence on the Crown, as Paramount Power. Again the treaties and engagements, no doubt, furnish an authority but it has been laid down that they are to be construed in the light of usages and practices which have grown up by long series of years in the matter of exercise of paramountcy of Power by the Political Department.

2. India is politically divided between British India and the Indian States which are about 600 in number. There are 109 States, the rulers of which have a seat in the Chamber of Princes, but it is to be noted that all of these or most of these had not taken any active interest in the Princes Chamber. About 126 other States are represented by 128 rulers by election. Out of the total the other 300 Estates are States in the sense they do not form part of British India. Within their territories the important States have all the main attributes of sovereignty, although their external relations are controlled by the Paramount Power. In British Indian Provinces, provincial autonomy has been inaugurated and the new Governments

are working with full responsibility subject to certain limitations. Parliament has no jurisdiction to legislate for the States ; they are subject only to the Paramount Power, which is a vital force. This problem is now solved by the Act which is made operative in the case of acceding States with their consent.

3. According to the constitutional history of other Federations, they were formed from contracts and agreements entered into by a number of States, each possessed of sovereignty or at least of autonomy ; and each State agreed to surrender to the Central Organisation part of their sovereign powers. Their pacts created a specific group of powers to be exercised by it on their behalf to the same extent for each one of them separately and for the Federation as a whole. The extent of the surrender of individual states depended upon the urge for such union. Economic necessity, defence against foreign aggression, commerce and trade were potent influences. In India, in British India, we look in vain for such States. British India is a ' Unitary State ' ; the administrative control was vested in the Secretary of State and his Council. Section 2 of the Government of India Act of 1919 stated, the Secretary of State may superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the Government or Revenues of India, and such powers as the Provincial Governments exercise were derived by delegation from the central authority and were exercised subject to that control. The provinces, therefore, had no sovereign or independent power to surrender to the Federal organisation. Therefore, the necessity there arose for full self-government in the provinces before Federation. I said before that the Indian States occupied a unique position and were under the sovereignty of the King-Emperor and formed no part of British India. Parliament could not legislate directly for their territories. Therefore, it is only by agreement with the States and with their consent that the scopes of legislative contact and the exercise of executive authority could be determined. A federal Union or the Unity of India should be based on organic relations among the Federal Units and the Central authority, and is different from a mere confederation. The Government of India Act aims at such a Federation.

4. The Act provides for the Federation of British Indian Provinces and Indian States individually as units. Both in status and in nature, the Indian states are wholly different. The paramountcy of the Crown is the agency which links the States with the

New British Indian Provinces. What is the nature and scope of the Paramount Power? We need not enter into a discussion of the history of this important problem; "it is a unique body of law" and "has no parallel in the constitutional history or law of any country. This relationship of law gradually developed and shaped during the whole period of British rule in India." The validity of treaties and engagements made with the Princes and the maintenance of their rights, privileges and dignities have been asserted and observed by the Paramount Power. But the Paramount Power has had of necessity to make decisions and exercise functions beyond the terms of treaties in order to secure the observance of treaty obligations and the maintenance of peace of India as a whole. Lord Reading in 1926 stated the position: "The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies. It is the right and duty of British Government while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States to preserve peace and good order throughout India." It will be instructive to read S. 285 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which declares the rights and obligations of the Crown in its relation with Indian States. "Subject in the case of a Federated State to the provisions of the Instrument of Accession of that State nothing in this Act affects the rights and obligations of the Crown in relation to any Indian State." The constituent unit of the Federation is the ruler himself, as representing the State and the Act makes no reference to the subjects of the State. For the moment they are out of focus as the subject relates to an internal affair with which Federation cannot interfere at present. Under the Federal arrangements, the internal administration of a State is fully exempt from Federal authority and also the relation between the ruler and the subjects.

Sections 5 and 6 of the Government of India Act form the basis on which Indian Federation rests. They relate to establishment of Federation and Accession of Indian States. Section 5 states that Federation takes place by the voluntary act of the ruler, a State may accede or may not and the consequences of accession are defined when accession is accomplished. Both Houses of Parliament shall present

an address to His Majesty, that there shall be united in a Federation under the Crown by the name of Federation of India : (a) the Governor's provinces, (b) the Indian States which have acceded or may thereafter accede to the Federation. That Section 6 is important and had given rise to some discussion. The State is to be deemed to have acceded to Federation if His Majesty has signified his acceptance of an instrument of accession executed by the ruler thereof whereby the ruler for himself, his heirs and successors declares that he accedes to the Federation. The Instrument of Accession is of considerable importance as it defines the scope of federal legislative and executive authority in respect of the State. Section 6 (2) declares: The Instrument of Accession shall specify the matters which the Ruler accepts, the subjects provided in the Second Schedule to the Act. Clauses 2 to 5 provided room for various interpretations but it was ultimately understood that in the Instrument of Accession exemptions, reservations and limitations might be made for the benefit of the ruler. Thus in regard to the clauses in the Second Schedule, the States are said to have made many reservations which if taken together might come to a large number. The State cannot withdraw after it has entered the Federation and it is open to the States to present supplementary instrument of further extension for the approval of His Majesty. The States surrender their rights and powers to the Crown and the Crown acts through the Viceroy of India instead of Governor-General in Council as hitherto and in all matters not included in the Instrument of Accession. In the case of the latter, the States have accepted the enactment passed by Parliament in regard to matters acceded to by them. Rulers would desire to safeguard the subjects acceded with limitations and conditions peculiar to each one of them. Thus new political obligations were created by the Government of India Act in respect of the states. Their Status is now better defined in relation to paramountcy and the political department. Indian Legislature secured jurisdiction over acceded subjects in the State.

6. It must be noted that the scope of Section 6, Clause 5, the variation of an Instrument of Accession is only possible to extend the powers of Federation. In other words, the Act may be deemed to provide for extending the federal jurisdiction so that, if things work well, at some time later this Federation may eventually develop into a full-fledged National Organisation. It may be a gradual process of development but the path of progress towards the goal is definitely

indicated. With mutual trust, mutual respect, common goodwill and honest service the great ideal which may appear dim at present may become clearer as we steadily advance towards the goal. A draft Instrument of Accession has been circulated to all States and on their terms of approval would depend the scope of Indian Federation. The power to accept an Instrument rests with His Majesty. In this connection the place of Federal Court becomes important to interpret these terms and to explain the relations *inter se* of the various authorities of the Constitution. The functions of the Federal Court are defined as far as possible. But it is expected there might be a considerable degree of uniformity in the Instrument of Accession, and it has been said that the States would have to make out a convincing case for any exemption and reservation in regard to any subject. Section 3 of the Act refers to the powers of the Governor-General in regard to powers and duties as are conferred or imposed on him by the Act and such other powers of His Majesty, not being powers conceded with the exercise of functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, as His Majesty may be pleased to assign to him. The many clauses of Section 294 define elaborately the extent to which the present powers of the Crown in the Federated States would continue to be exercised under the Federation.

7. To sum up, the status and character of Indian States and the political position of British Indian Provinces and the origin of the Indian Federation were explained. The relation between the Indian States and the Crown was set forth as Paramountcy is a living force or power by which His Majesty has contact with the States. The States agreed to surrender some of their political and property rights to join the Federation thereby to assist British Indian aspirations for Central responsibility. The rulers as such represent their States and there is no reference to their subjects. The Instruments of Accession would specify the exemption and limitations in regard to the forty-eight Federal subjects, specified in the Schedule attached to the Act. It may be noted that States also felt that paramountcy has been gradually extending over many spheres and it was left undefined. They desired to know definitely the limits thereof.

8. After having briefly touched upon some of the salient features of Indian Federation, the scheme indicated in the provisions of the Act may now be looked into within the limited space available. The executive authority of the Federation is placed in the Governor-

General on behalf of His Majesty ; the Executive authority of Federation extends to matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature has power to make laws, to the raising in British India of naval, military, air forces and to the exercise of such rights, authority and jurisdiction as are exercisable by His Majesty in relation to tribal areas. In regard to Federated States such authority extends only to matters as to which the Federal legislature has power to make laws. It is expressly provided that the executive authority of a ruler shall continue to be exercisable with respect to matters over which Federal Legislature has power to make laws. The ruler is the Federal Executive for the State and he thereby makes himself the delegate for the Governor-General and Federal Legislature. If the administrative machinery of the State is unable to carry on the executive functions, presumably the Governor-General would step in as Paramount Power or in most cases under Section 128 of the Act. The administration of Federal affairs is to be carried on by the Governor-General who is assisted by a Council of Ministers not exceeding ten to aid and advise him except in matters relating to the discharge of his functions to be exercised at his discretion. Defence, Ecclesiastical and External affairs are reserved subjects ; they are to be administered at his discretion ; these may be allotted to Councillors not exceeding three in number. In addition, the Governor-General has special responsibilities in regard to which he would exercise his individual judgment. An Instrument of Instruction defining the actual manner of the exercise of his powers is issued to the Governor-General. Unlike the Instrument issued before the Act, the present document receives sanction of Parliament and is statutorily recognised. The superintending power of the Secretary of the State is limited to the Governor-General's functions involving the exercise of his discretion or his individual judgment. The appointment of a Financial Adviser has been provided for to assist the Governor-General in the discharge of his special responsibility for safeguarding financial stability and credit of the Federal Government and also to give advice to the Federal Government on consultation.

9. The Federal Legislature consists of His Majesty's representative, the Governor-General, and two Chambers. The Council of State consists of 156 representatives of British India and not more than 104 of the Indian States and the Federal assembly will consist of 250 representatives of British India and not more than 120 represen-

tatives of Indian States The Council of State is a permanent body not subject to dissolution, one-third of the members retire every third year. The seats allotted to the Council of State would be elected directly by the electorates formed while the seats for the Assembly would be elected by an indirect method. The indirect method is an undesirable change from the present practice. Rule 19 of First Schedule to the Act proposes subject to the provisions of the next succeeding paragraph, persons to fill the seats in the Federal assembly allotted to a Governor's province as general seats shall be chosen by electorates consisting of *such of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of the province as hold therein general seats* in accordance with proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote. In regard to the Indian States, there shall be allotted to each State or as the case may be *group of States* a certain number in the case of Council of States. In the case of Assembly also there shall be allotted to each State a certain number of members. It is the rulers of States who would appoint these members by nomination to either chamber. It is provided that the Executive authority of every Federated State shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the Executive authority of the Federation so far as it is exercisable in the State. The Governor-General (S. 128) has power to issue such direction to the ruler as he thinks fit.

10. Part VII of the Government of India Act is the real pivot upon which the success or failure of Federation and Provincial Autonomy largely turn, distribution of Revenue between the Federation and the Federal units. The allocation of central revenue proposed in Niemeyer Report was encouraging but the recent report of Wedgwood Committee is very disquieting. However, the last quarterly return of earnings of Railways raises some hope that the calculations of experts may not, after all, be quite well-founded. Part of Income-tax earnings are to be distributed to the Provinces to strengthen their financial position if the earnings of Railways are considered to be satisfactory and to be able to contribute towards the General funds of the Central Government. Finance is a very important subject which requires separate treatment. Under the provision of Act, Section 138, a prescribed percentage of the net proceeds in any financial year of the taxes on income may be assigned to the Provinces. Corporation tax shall not be levied by the Federation in any Federal State until ten years have elapsed from the establishment of Federa-

tion. The States at present are not liable to contribute directly to Federal finance other than their indirect contributions in the shape of share in the Customs duties, etc. On the other hand any cash contributions payable by the States may be remitted (S. 147). Over a period not exceeding twenty years, provision is made also in regard to ceded territories taking into consideration privileges or immunity enjoyed by the State.

11. The regulation and the construction, maintenance and operation of Railways are hereafter to be exercised by a Federal Railway authority. The composition of this authority would consist of as follows : not less than three-sevenths of the members of the authority shall be persons appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion, and the Governor-General shall, in his discretion, appoint a member of authority to be President. Wide powers are vested in this authority, its executive power extends to the carrying on in connection with any Federal Railways of such undertakings as in the opinion of the authority it is expedient should be carried on in connection therewith and in the making and carrying into effect of arrangements with other persons for the carrying on by these persons of such undertakings (S. 181). Powers in regard to Railway services of the Federation would be exercised by the authority, subject to the policy of the Federal Government. Railway Finance would be separated. Finance of Railway authority to be dealt with from fund known as Railway Fund. Any surpluses on revenue account of the authority shall be apportioned between the Government and the Railway Board according to a scheme to be prepared and from time to time reviewed by the Federal Government and the sum transferred shall form part of the revenues of Federation. It is not necessary to enter into further details, all these matters having been very ably considered by the Niemeyer Report. In addition to the Railway authority, the Governor-General may from time to time appoint a Railway Rates Committee to give advice to the authority in connection with any dispute between persons using or desiring to use a Railway and the authority as to rates or traffic facilities which he may require the authority to refer to the Committee. In addition, a railway Tribunal may be established consisting of a President and two other persons to be selected to act in each case being persons with railway administrative or business experience. The President may be one of the Judges of the Federal Court. The scheme was intended to bring the Railway administration

under the authority so that there may be co-ordinated development of communications between the Federal States and British India as the financial, construction and administrative aspects of Railways have become increasingly important.

12. Time and again, since the publication of the White paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms, there had been vehement criticisms of Indian Constitution and special attempts were directed against Indian Federation. Moderate publicists also agreed with the contention to some extent. Federation was described by leaders of one school of politics as an evil design planned for strengthening the hold of Imperialism in India ; it was fraught with evil consequences, and is against the progress of Swaraj in India. They argued that it should be prevented from being brought into operation and that the Act should be rejected in its entirety. It is, however, very significant that throughout this long period of criticism and denunciation, not a semblance of any other constructive scheme was planned in its stead and no alternative was proposed much less worked out as an advance over the present which is acknowledged to be unsatisfactory. The remedy pressed forward was the formation of a Constituent Assembly of India to frame a Constitution. Such organisations were possible in the last centuries in France and in America but their application to the conditions of India in the present circumstances appears to be beset with many serious practical difficulties. This idea is not looked upon with favour by a considerable section of the people of India. The Communal and Minority problems confront the advocates however much they may try to minimise the insurmountable obstacles. The Communal Award stares us in the face, and the failure of the Nehru Report is proof against the practicability of the proposal. For the present, the Government of India Act of 1935 is the inevitable solution for the Indian problems and it has further been put into operation. " This is now the Law of the Land. "

13. Happily for Indian progress all the unpleasant and evil forebodings have been dissipated and the Provincial Governments and Legislatures are in full working order. The leaders of the majority parties in the legislatures proclaim that their object in agreeing to work the New Constitution is to make the best use of it for the benefit of the masses and for carrying out their policies and programmes. Therefore according to them they work the Constitution and do not wreck it. Under these circumstances, what is the next step ? Could

the other part of the Act be ignored and dismissed? The Government of India Act as a whole stands as the Law of the Land. It was the sincere and steadfast work of Indian patriots for the last quarter of a century to realise the state of United India, the Union of the Indian States and British India and the inauguration of a National State of India. There have been frightful difficulties causing despair, and eventually by the aid and assistance of liberal-minded Princes who sympathised with the legitimate aspirations of British India, the dream has been realised in however inadequate a form. The Princes agreed to sacrifice some of their political rights and privileges and undertook new obligations with praiseworthy magnanimity. They entered into the Indian Federation by Instruments of Accession. We can now visualise, however hazily, India as a political whole. A great beginning has been made; it rests upon British India to complete the process by honest co-operation and by sincere service. All doubts and uncertainties have been set at rest by the historic message to India from His Excellency the Viceroy on 21st June. He said:—“I am convinced that the shortest road to that fuller political life which many of you so greatly desire is to accept this Constitution and to work it for all it is worth. Of their nature, politics are ever dynamic and to imagine that their expansion in terms of a written Constitution can render them static would be utterly to disregard the lessons of history and indeed the dictates of Commonsense”; these are the declarations of an experienced and sincere statesman presiding over the destinies of India.

14. I may, before concluding, refer to an impression prevailing among a section of the people that the majority party in the Legislative Assemblies would prevent the election to the Federal Assembly and thereby prevent Federation unless the Governor-General and the Governors exercise Extraordinary and Special Powers vested in them. This argument is on a par with the one relating to “wrecking the Constitution” if majority party did not accept office. The government of the Provinces was nevertheless carried on. Public men making such statements should carefully look into the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, and Schedule 1, Rule 19, according to which the provincial assemblies as such are not the constituencies for electing representatives to the Federal Assembly but the members thereof form the electoral college for general and special interests. If the majority of members refuse to vote they are the worse for it

and the minority would then elect all the representatives. I am confident that such pyrotechnic would not proceed from thoughtful individuals. It is acknowledged that Indian Federation may give rise to difficulties, and that it does not fully express the views of India.

The points alleged *inter alia* are:—

(a) Disproportionate representation of the States on the basis of population. 79 millions and 260 millions.

(b) The Instrument of Accession while accepting the Federal Subjects would qualify the same by exemptions and limitations.

(c) Predominance of State influence in Legislatures.

(d) Absence of any impetus for formation of parties on political principles.

(e) Diarchic form of government is repeated.

(f) Financial relations are far from just or equitable.

(g) The State representatives are nominees of the rulers.

(h) There is no statutory provision for collective responsibility of Ministers.

(i) The ruler himself is the Federal Executive Power in the State for Federation.

(j) Absence of facilities for co-ordinated action among the members of Units.

All these difficulties could be satisfactorily explained as not unsurmountable if the scheme of the Government of India Act, 1935, is accepted ; these and others seem to be unavoidable in any scheme of Federation in the particular circumstances of India. The Time Spirit is working fast ; and these and other alleged defects may in time be set right by mutual understanding and good will.

Nevertheless, as practical workers for the service of the country and as men of Commonsense, we should realise that there is no use in ploughing the sands for ever when constructive statesmanship and the cause of greater India demand wholehearted devotion and patriotic service.

TWENTY YEARS AFTER CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY POVERTY STUDY

CAPTAIN J. W. PETAVEL

TOWARDS the end of the Great War, when people were turning their attention to reconstruction problems, the late Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee took the subject up with his characteristic thoroughness. He placed before the Royal Commission that was then studying Indian education problems a paper on the education system which had been put forward as the plan for the reconstruction;¹ and for self-supporting education for India; soon after he arranged for lectures in the University on the subject and for their publication in book form;² finally a special lectureship was established under his Vice-Chancellorship, the first for its subject in any University; its aim in the words of a memorandum relating to it, was the study of "the ways of applying the enormous productive power which progress has given us to putting an end to unmerited poverty" (see the Proceedings of the Executive Committee of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts, 10th of March, 1920, No. 29).

The Calcutta University publications appeal for attention to two great needs of our time, to two urgent adjustments that have to be made, in making which, we should bring about other great changes automatically, and cause our progress to do us good and our immense productive power to be used for human welfare, to remove the ugly features of our civilization. The first great adjustment needed is in connection with our education system, the second, which would follow from the first, is in connection with housing the industrial population in garden cities and suburbs, the effects of which would be of the most far-reaching importance socially, economically and imperially.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, realising that those questions were of vital importance to all countries, had the University publications sent to every part of the world.³ His great fellow countryman, the late Sir Rajendra-

¹ See the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Appendix, Vol. VII, p. 18.

² "Man and Machine Power in War and Reconstruction."

³ First "Man and Machine Power" was sent out, then "Self-Government and the Bread Problem"; the latter ran to two editions. Over twenty thousand copies of books, booklets and pamphlets were issued in connection with the propaganda, and sent out with 2,500 printed circular letters from the University.

nath Mookerjee who, with the late Maharajah of Cossimbazar, Sir Dorab Tata and Sir Dinshah Wacha, made a princely donation to the work, said that the time might come when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee would be chiefly remembered for the bold action he took to call attention to those great needs of our time, alike for India and for Western countries.

The practical suggestions made in the University publications received most generous appreciation from every quarter. King Edward, then Prince of Wales, the Prime Minister at the time, Mr. Lloyd George, a number of Cabinet Ministers among whom the present Secretary of State, Lord Zetland, and a past Under-Secretary of State, Lord Sinha, the founder of the Salvation Army, the late General William Booth, were among the first to appreciate the educational idea, and the International Social Secretary, Commissioner David Lamb, soon became an active helper. Many of the foremost economists of the time including Professor Gide of Paris, Sir Horace Plunkett, Professor Carver of Harvard, wrote of them with the very greatest appreciation. Dr. Leicester, H. M. Inspector of Schools, came to Calcutta to report to the British Board of Education on the plan, and what was being done in connection with it. In addition to the Sadler Commission a number of Government committees soon published appendices about the educational suggestions. The suggestions for dealing with distribution of population received equally generous recognition, conspicuously from Lord Crewe, Mr. Lloyd George and the Press representing all parties and in many countries.

During the twenty years which have passed since Calcutta University took its pioneer action no less than nine Governments have shown their interest officially in the education system it advocated ; a bill has been placed before the United States Senate for a first step in the direction of its practical realization, and the British Association has taken up the subject of country planning ; finally India's Premier State, on the initiative of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, strongly supported by the head of the Co operative Department, Mr. Sayed Fazalullah, H. C. S., is taking the matter up and the Central Provinces Government is considering self-supporting education ; so it is high time to give the matter attention.

¹ See his published speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the new building of Maharajah Cossimbazar's Polytechnic Institute to which he had contributed handsomely whilst Sir Dorab Tata, Sir Dinshah Wacha and a number of Calcutta merchants contributed to the propaganda.

It is now clear that those adjustments have to be made in our system to save advanced countries from disaster and India from illiteracy. We have to recognise that, for better or for worse, the age of machine and all that goes with it, has come upon us, but we have been made to realise that whatever else may be said of it, it is killing us by its artificialities besides making people's livelihood insecure. It offers us, however, a great hope of a better era. First, the young human being, up to the age of about eighteen, is "plastic and capable of being moulded, and the influences received up to that age largely determine the whole after-life" and progress has given us the means to bring up the young, during the whole of their plastic years, in the education colonies in which they would be in close contact with nature and formed in healthy and natural tastes both for work and for sports.

That, then, is the first great adjustment we have to make and in making it we shall be doing, beyond all comparison, the most splendid thing ever done for juvenile welfare and for sound education and training.

At the same time, progress has given us every facility and, more than that, makes every urgent call on us, to plan our towns and country in a way that will enable the "educational colony"-trained young people to have their "adult colonies," in which they will spend part of their time, not laboriously cultivating small "uneconomic" holdings, but producing their own food by intelligent collective farming for home use working then only a short shift only in the factory.

Sociologists know that the workers are at their best in every way, not when they are cultivators pure and simple, still less when they are only craftsmen, but when they combine some industrial work with the cultivation, of the soil. We therefore see the possibility of the machine, which so far seems to have brought great curses upon us, giving us a far happier age than we have known yet. The necessity for the combined occupations under modern conditions has since been emphasised by the world's greatest industrialist, Mr. Henry Ford.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's great message was that we must not despair or plan revolutions but adjust things.

All this is equally hopeful for India, whose great problem is that of making her soil produce more food for her growing population. She must have a "rural exodus," but a happy one in this case. Overpressure on the land must be relieved by population migrating not to

hideous towns, but to well planned "factory colonies" and garden cities, in which people will cultivate irrigated plots on a system of scientific co-ordination, producing milk, fruits, vegetables for their own abundant supply, working only a very short day in a well-equipped industry. The land will then, to an ever increasing extent, be cultivated, not by one person, to two and a half acres which is the average in India now, but by few people using good machinery getting the utmost possible from the soil, making every field and every part of the country, produce what it is best suited to produce by the best methods. Thus it will yield abundant food for the people which it cannot do under present conditions of cultivation.

With the labour-simplifying methods progress has given us, the perplexing problem of disposal of products can be solved. People can produce things for one another, simply on the system of the village of ancient times, but organised by a vast country-wide co-operative exchange organization. The great signal we have now for this modern return to the ancient, is Senator Sheppard's bill (the United Communities' Bill), and the brilliant success of the Swiss pioneers of Witzwil. Both those pioneers read the Calcutta University publications with the greatest appreciation; the splendid example of a production for use organization given by the Swiss and the need to follow up its success is a great theme of its publications. Production for use, they explain clearly, must not supersede trade. All the industries could be private undertakings selling what they were able to sell. With modern facilities, however, we could have the old-time system in its modern—"United Communities"-form exchanging what they could not sell, for the use of the producers. Industries would then not depend on sales, or workers on money wages. Both would work for the exchange tokens of the co-operative organization. With these they would be able to purchase not only the organization's goods but any thing they wished, for people would accept the tokens as readily as money. Obvious precautions could prevent the tokens actually becoming a currency and causing inflation.

Also on the simple old-time plan, but carried out on a country-wide instead of village scale, people would be able to pay their rent and taxes in kind. They would pay taxes in their exchange tokens. With them the Government would be able to pay its officials part of their salaries, and purchase its various requirements, the firms passing them on, in proper proportion, to their workers. Governments

would also purchase bills of exchange with them for articles to be imported.

Problems of over-population and unemployment will arise until organization and distribution are perfected, but young people brought up in educational colonies having learned to work together co-operatively, would go out to new countries, and to undeveloped parts of them, as pioneers, from sheer love of adventure. They would establish their colonies there, and so ask no one for employment. They would ask only for co-operation with established settlers in ways that would be mutually of the greatest possible advantage. Financiers would readily capitalise the well-trained young people.

Thus the education planning will lead us to the Empire-planning we need that will benefit all classes.

Those were the suggestions put forward in the publications of Calcutta University, endorsed by great economists, written about in the Press from Calcutta to San Francisco, noticed in seven full-column articles in the London "Times" in its Educational Supplement.¹ Now what is there to be said of it all twenty years after? Was it a flash in the pan?

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had set himself to carry out the educational idea when death struck him down. He had taken the lead in connection with an organization that had been registered in Bengal under the name of the Modern Co-operative Agricultural Association, Ltd. His death was the first disaster that befell the effort to lead India's patriotic movement in the direction of this constructive work. The second disaster was the equally sudden death of the late Lord Sinha, who, with Sir Manmathanath Mookerjee—recent acting Chief Justice of Bengal—and others, had stepped into the gap.

But the educational colony is the need of our modern age, so the idea was bound to live, and it is becoming clear now that the industrial countries will have to adopt it speedily.

Statistics of "appalling" physical deterioration and foreshadowing "precipitate" depopulation, are the grim indications we have now of the effects of ever increasing artificiality. They are the indications of life and work under conditions that are joyless, under which unhealthy excitements take the place of natural zest of work and joy of

¹ See 15 I and 19 II, 1920, 6 and 13 V, 1922, 2 IX, 1923, 17 I and 26 X, 1925; among other front-rank publications, "Nature" also gave a long series of notices and Professors Gide, Carver and Richard wrote in many papers in entire approval.

living, which is found even among decently treated slaves. The facts now confronting us are those of death supervening on the joylessness of industrialism without the necessary adjustments in our social system. Palliative measures will be applied in Western countries to minimise the symptoms, and with various degrees of success, but Sir Asutosh Mookerjee took his "action perhaps without a parallel in the annals of any learned body,"¹ to call attention to the fact that we can go to the root of the matter, and restore to people healthy and happy conditions of life, and work, and that is what we must do.

There is no more elementary truth than that every creature must have suitable food and proper joyful exercise. Failing either of the two things deterioration and infertility follow. With the human being, work exercising the mind and demanding dexterity may be good, if some bodily exercise also is taken, but we know now that, more and more, our industrial system is failing to give what is essential. The human being under degenerating conditions hastens the process of extinction by artificialities. Unhealthy tastes and habits are accelerating deterioration, and birth-control is accelerating racial extinction.

Man with reason and conscience cannot let this go on with the cause and the remedy both obvious. The appeal of every committee, and every person, who has examined the facts, the giant efforts of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the efforts in America that inspired Senator Sheppard to place his bill before the United States Senate, cannot long remain vain. The young will be brought up in educational "United Communities"—to use the American word—so that they will not work in industries more than a short day, at least till experience or skill fits them for work that is really good. Then also we shall have, a great "United Communities" system, that will give people "access to machinery of production" and the machine that is now a threat to man will be a useful servant instead.

The educational colonies plan could be carried out in many ways but the ways suggested in the Calcutta University publications for towns and rural districts will be given as an illustration.

The children and adolescents would divide their day pretty equally between productive work, the best games and sports, and lessons. There would be more of the productive work in the case of poor

¹ See the Editor's introduction to the booklet issued by "Capital," Calcutta, on the Calcutta University propaganda.

children, and more study in that of those destined for professions. It would be employment and school going on together, and the first question is what its economics would be, how it would affect poor parents and the State.

We shall consider it first from the point of view of the nations and sections of the population that are perishing under present conditions. Its application to the Indian rural districts is absolutely simple.

First and foremost it has to be understood that the "educational colonies" plan has been made practically possible by the fact that, in a modern organization, well trained adolescents may be as good as adults in many branches of productive work, and modern labour-saving methods can enable them to produce useful commodities for their use by very little labour, leaving time for studies and sports.

Children and adolescents would have to be fed in the educational colonies, and on a more liberal scale than is usual among the poor. But systematically growing fruits and vegetables, scientifically preserving products for all-year supply, the colonies would easily provide a diet that would be keenly relished. Foodstuffs that had to be bought would be acquired on the largest scale, for the immense organization, and it would no doubt gain further advantages by co-operating for its purchases with other public services. Under those conditions difficulties would be reduced to the minimum.

In countries in which parents maintain their children during the school age, that is to say, up to about fifteen, the parents would not have to pay more than a part of what it would cost to feed their children less well at home, so that in no case could there be just complaints. Within reasonable limits parents might be permitted to supplement the diet provided by the colony. There are numerous ways in which parents could be made to pay their share.

The children and adolescents would cultivate small allotments in proper co-ordination, in little partnerships of seniors and juniors. The cultivation could include even producing fodder crops to feed goats for milk, and poultry and rabbits. Cultivation that would not be profitable commercially may be quite profitable under the conditions of production for use. It has to be remembered that in producing for use, people earn, or rather save for their benefit, the middleman's profit, and all the transport and marketing charges, so that work done producing for oneself in a good organization is very well rewarded, and

the economic conditions are entirely different from those of production for sale. That must be specially noted as the fundamental economic principle of the plan.

In Western countries a most important function of this labour army of the adolescents, helped to some extent by the elder children, would be to assist the farmers. They would go to work in farms specially at the times when extra labour is needed, working not for money but for payment in produce for their organisation. Extra labour at certain times, well trained and dependable, is the most valuable assistance agriculture can have, enabling better cultivation to be carried out and valuable crops to be safely harvested. The plan is of great value in that way also. The payments in kind for dependable help could be on a liberal scale. Finally some of the adolescents and older children would take turns of work in colonies near factories, helping in the production of clothes, and many commodities of ordinary use, including even school requisites. They would work a short shift in the factory, four hours at the most. For their labour the educational organization would take products it wanted from the factories, to distribute among the young workers according to their various requirements. On a similar economic principle the earnings in kind would be at a very high rate.

So far from there being any economic difficulty to foresee, it seems hardly conceivable that three hours' productive work daily should fail to make the children and adolescents, taken together, entirely self-supporting. There is no need, however, to dwell on that possibility as regards Western countries but it makes it clear that we must try the plan and not waste time considering eventualities that may never arise. The possibilities of self-support, however, are of great hopefulness for India and are specially stressed in the Calcutta University publications—that it is the solution of the problem of self-supporting education for India.

Then, again, those publications dwell on the possibility of private enterprise co-operating cordially with the educational organization, and allowing adults as well as the young to work for remuneration in the credit which the great co-operative organization would similarly take from them. The stage might soon be reached at which the exchange tokens would be readily received for all kinds of payment. The American "United Communities" bill is specially for adults.

Leaving, however, these possibilities, which were not generally

understood, and concentrating on the "educational colonies" plan which has attracted much attention, we have to consider the possibility of private enterprise not co-operating cordially at first. In that case the educational organization would make special arrangements with a few industries, if necessary financing them. These would be given an assured custom from the public and from the parents.

As regards poor parents, for European countries, it is self-sufficient to say that cases of genuine poverty could be met. Children of parents in poverty could contract to remain longer in this juvenile labour army, and then make useful contributions in kind to their homes from an early age. The "educational colony" system would be the very best help to the poor. Earnings in kind, once more, are on a liberal scale.

One has not to anticipate difficulties in connection with taking town children to "educational colonies." One of the important features of the system would be that it would keep town children for a considerable part of their time in the colonies, sending them home perhaps twice a week in the case of quite young ones, and once a week in case of older ones; at the most, young children would go home alternate nights. Another important feature would be that the seniors would, in a systematic and organised way, take care of the juniors. The plan would be to train and develop the young in every way, among which not least, in working together organized, in service—scouting in a word, for which it would give magnificent scope. The Scout movement has shown us that the right spirit can be awakened in the young, and that alone, is true education, as every real educationist knows; with the spirit, every kind of development is stimulated and perfected. An important part of the plan would be the organisation of town children's travelling the juniors in little groups with seniors. In these days of motors and tractors it would be easy to design types of trailers for very slow travelling over the very short distances, which would generally be only from two to three miles, with children living the furthest away. But evidently, as there is no better exercise than smart marching, with spurts of running, the children would assemble in little "Scout" groups under a senior, and the groups would march together along chosen routes, with masters on bicycles supervising. The conveyances running along those routes, would only have to pick up successive little groups, to give young children living at the greatest distances, a lift for part of the way. As regards young

children living in the centre portions of very big towns, those are the very ones it would be desirable to keep in the educational colonies as much as possible. Moreover, big towns have their trains and other conveyances that, in the mornings come empty from the centre, bringing in successive lots of workers and that conversely, in the evenings, run empty to the centre, bringing successive lots of workers out. These conveyances could be utilised in their returning empty journeys, to take organised groups of children some of the way to their colonies.

It is sufficient to say that there are many plans to be considered from many points of view for a well organised labour army of the young, aiming at training them in the full sense and the organization and discipline of the labour army, the system of the responsibility of the seniors for the juniors, would be the best training and influence to seniors and juniors.

Of greatest importance of all, the Calcutta University publication insist "educational colonies" promise to be in every way the best thing ever done for human welfare. They would create for the young a very paradise. Variety of good occupations with good opportunities for sports, would make their young lives happy. At the same time, as all educationists know, keeping the young working with enthusiasm by such variety, means, in a word, doing everything for them that is best in every really important way. Nothing else educationally is more than dust in the balance in comparison with the importance of keeping the young enthusiastically busy. Cultural education would also gain enormously. Spreading it out over a longer period, going on side by side with real employment, would be altogether advantageous to it.

Then the organization we should have for the young would be an example of the way in which we could organize generally to "use the productive power progress has given us" for human welfare, using it to purge our civilization of all depressing features.

In rural India the educational colonies system would be a system, as one might explain it illustratively, *of equipping some villages well, to make the labour of the equipped people produce a surplus, and using some of the surplus to pay schoolmasters and doctors for the surrounding villages a salary in kind.* The industries in the "equipped villages" could be private undertakings, but those capitalising them would make certain conditions for their social

utilisation, which the University publications show would be sound from every business point of view. They commend the plan very specially for consideration as hopeful for India's industrial development, to give a start to an industrial system suitable to India, and to be the nucleus for the co-operative organization, supplying necessities for payment in kind, which would first make India's great man power the factor in her development.¹ This would lead to the redistribution of population in the rural districts that would give the masses sufficient food and the benefits progress has to offer with the hope of avoiding the evils that have accompanied it hitherto.

But finally the question is how the necessary country planning is to be carried out; how "educational colony"-trained young people are to have the "factory colonies" and the kind of towns they will want without colossal profiteering in rents neutralising the good of them.

As that might seem to many to be the great difficulty it is well that we are able to say that of the suggestions contained in the Calcutta University publications none had more distinguished notice and approval than that which related to this matter.²

The problem appears most difficult in the case of European countries, so we shall consider them first, and the solution for India will follow obviously.

Any plan for better distribution of population, and to enable people to combine the cultivation of the land with industrial work, would place some land-owners in a position to demand enormous rents, whilst other landlords would suffer ruinous losses.³ The first thing needed therefore in connection with country planning is to value the land and then take in a "betterment tax" the whole of the increased value due to planning and compensate those who would lose. In that way we could have once and for all an equitable fixing of rents. Planning in a word would transfer values to new places and enormously increase them on the whole. The measure needed for it is one that, after a fair valuation, allowing every owner the present value

¹ This has also been long and fervently advocated by Sir Daniel Hamilton.

² The "Revue Internationale Economique" published a highly appreciative notice of it by the celebrated French economist, the late Professor Charles Gide; the "Zeitfragen Supplement" of the "Berlin Tagezeitung" published one by Dr. Mueller von Hausen; there was a leader in the "Daily News" referring to it specially, and favourable comments in papers representing all shades of political opinion in many countries.

³ See "Man and Machine Power" (Calcutta University), pp. 130 onwards, also the books mentioned in the footnotes at the end.

of his land would fix rents to prevent any profiteering. Then the values taken by the "betterment tax" would pay the interest on Government stock issued in compensation to the owners of the sites the planning sacrificed and every kind of rent profiteering would be stopped.

Under modern conditions such a measure would very soon give us towns in which the workers would be able to combine cultivation with industrial work, and make a change that would be of incalculable value for healthiness, prosperity and safety in war.

What we have to consider in this connection is that the conditions that demanded compactly planned towns are all of past times, and that every consideration now demands that towns should throw out lineal suburbs for their population to live in, along the good lines of communication, the centres remaining only places of business, pleasure, and perhaps of dwellings of the rich. In lineal suburbs the workers would be able to have land.

The next thing to be understood is that it would be, not costly, but exceedingly paying to make this transfer of population to suburbs if only the necessary adjustment in our land system had been made.¹

The site values sacrificed in the towns again would not be destroyed but transferred to the suburbs, and taken in the "betterment tax." The new houses would be built as a commercial enterprise. The loss, the cost, would be the abandoned houses in the towns. To a small extent, however, their value would be transferred also. Demolishing old houses wholesale to rebuild wholesale elsewhere, the machinery would be constructed to demolish economically and in such a way as to make the greatest use of the materials for the new buildings. It should be mentioned that in lineal garden cities where manure would have great value, sewage systems would be adopted that though they are more costly to operate are comparatively cheap to establish, and would be best because the manure would have value.

Against the costs there would be gains of colossal dimensions. They cannot be estimated exactly, and need not be, because it is clear that they would make rebuilding the towns extremely paying even from the most cut-and-dried ratepayer's point of view.

First, planning towns in that way would turn many millions of acres rural land into gardens, valuable "accommodation land" of

¹ See "Man and Machine Power," p. 140 onwards.

different kinds, and make much of it more valuable as rural land. These increases due to planning would also be taken in the "betterment tax" and it has been calculated that they alone might pay for costs without hardship on any landowner.¹

Apart from that, if we consider merely the cost to the ratepayer of crime, sickness and pauperisation which is well over fifty million pounds a year in Great Britain and if we consider the statistics that show how all of them are diminished when population is housed under garden-city conditions, we see that savings under that heading alone might cover all the costs by themselves. This is rendered more probable by the fact that garden cities combine the conditions that tend to diminish alcoholism, whilst crowded towns combine all those that aggravate it, and alcoholism is the greatest cause of disease and crime. Then, apart again from that, there would be no costly unemployment problem with lineal garden suburbs, with which there would certainly be some kind of "education colonies" system, with its economic organisation.

Taking the various items together and many others of great importance, it is clear that industrialized countries, with their costly social services, could without even the appearance of sacrifice, re-house their workers in lineal suburbs as quickly as they chose to, and with the absolute certainty that they would be doing the wisest possible thing even from the narrowest fiscal point of view. The military value of establishing conditions that would diminish enormously the dangers both of air bombardment and starvation during war would be another incalculable factor, whilst socially the face of our civilization would be changed.

It is of greatest interest and importance that Great Britain, by spending about two hundred million pounds on re-housing a portion of her workers in lineal suburbs, which would be places of refuge in temporary shelters in war for another great portion of them, making the corresponding clearances in the towns systematically, to localise fires, and using the debris to make bomb-proof shelters, could reduce the danger from air bombardment to a small fraction of what it is now, and with the certainty that the money would be well invested financially, as well as socially with infinite benefit.

¹ See "Man and Machine Power," p. 139 and the other books mentioned in the foot note at the end.

Boldly the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee issued the appeal to educated people throughout the world to study these facts. In his own words :¹ " I had a series of lectures on the subject printed and sent to the professors of economics of every University in the Empire and many foreign ones and the result was entirely satisfactory : there were only favourable comments."

Now twenty years after the great appeal " Save the children and they will save us," the challenge remains unanswered."²

¹ See " Unemployment," Calcutta University.

² See also the book that led Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to take this action—" The Coming Triumph of Christian Civilization " (Allen & Unwin's). The eighteen-page review of it in the " Hibbert Journal," Jan. 1913, under " Are the Brains Behind the Labour Revolt Wrong " was also in entire agreement from beginning to end. The facts, indeed, are uncontroversable and this was endorsed in outstanding reviews in all countries.



RESERVE FUNDS OF CO-OPERATIVE CENTRAL BANKS

J. P. NIXOGI, M.A., PH.D.

Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University

IN the lay mind there is a tendency to confuse a Reserve with a Reserve Fund. Their functions, however, are quite distinct.

The problem of Reserve is the same as that of fluid resources. A Reserve may or may not be built out of profits, while a Reserve Fund is always built out of the surplus of assets over liabilities. Even after the lapse of more than three decades of the working of co-operative credit societies, there exists to-day acute differences of opinion regarding the nature and functions of a Reserve Fund. Is it permissible to use this fund for providing fluid resource? Can this fund be utilised for writing off bad debts? Is it open to a Central Bank to use its Reserve Fund for meeting demands of creditors? These are some of the questions which have been asked.

Rules framed under the Indian Co-operative Societies Act lay down that in all co-operative societies of which the liability is limited by shares, not less than one-fourth of the net profits shall be annually carried to a reserve fund.¹ In addition to this minimum sundry other items are also credited to this fund. Admission fees after deduction of the preliminary expenses incurred in constituting a Society, the value of all forfeited shares, lapsed dividends and fines also go to the Reserve Fund.²

Let us now ask ourselves the fundamental question—What are the uses to which this Reserve Fund can be put? Speaking generally two alternatives at once suggest themselves. The profits of a Central Bank which are set apart may be used by a bank either in its own business, or they may be separately invested. In so far as the first alternative is adopted, a bank may use the profits for providing the necessary liquid assets against the demands of its depositors. In such a case the profits cease to be a *Reserve Fund* but become what is technically

¹ Rules under Sec. 43 of the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912.

² By-Law 72 of Central Co-operative Bank (mixed type).

known in banking parlance as Reserve. It is true that this reserve or fluid resource is generally provided out of share capital or deposits. But there is nothing to prevent the use by a bank of a portion of its surplus assets in this manner, particularly if the share capital and deposits are insufficient to provide the necessary liquid cover.

It is also open to a Central Bank to use its profits in its own business to supplement the working capital obtained from other sources *e.g.*, shares, loans and deposits. If the assets are thus utilised they, cease to be a Reserve Fund and become a *Reserve Account*. One of the principal arguments advanced in favour of this policy is that from the financial point of view the bank is likely to be a gainer. The rate of interest which it is likely to earn by lending out its profits to the constituent societies is generally much higher than that which it is likely to obtain by investing the Reserve Fund, say, in Government securities or even in the Provincial Co-operative Bank. One of the objects which the Maclagan Committee on co-operation had in view was the increase of "owned" capital. That end can be achieved more effectively and quickly if the profits are used as working capital than if they are separately invested. The Committee therefore recommended¹ that subject to provision being made for the maintenance of fluid resource, primary societies and Central Banks should use their reserve funds in their own business. The matter was also debated at length in 1918 at a Conference of Registrars of co-operative societies. This Conference passed the following resolution² :—

"That while recognising the ultimate advantages of creating a separate reserve fund invested outside the movement, the Conference consider that at the present stage of development, it may in many cases be desirable to prefer to this object the creation of capital owned by co-operative institutions for utilization in their business. Subject to provision being made for the maintenance of a safe standard of cash reserve or fluid resources, they consider that there is no objection to the employment of the surplus assets or undistributed profits of co-operative institutions in their own business."

Apart from using the undistributed profits in their own business Central Banks may set apart such profits and invest them in gilt-edged securities to constitute the nucleus of a fund which will grow as the

¹ Recommendations Nos. 88 and 151.

² Resolution No. 15—Report of the Eighth Conference of Registrars, 1918, p. 50.

volume of business increases. The object of this fund is to provide for some possible or estimated loss on the realisation of certain assets or in respect of pending assets.¹ It is only when profits are thus invested that they constitute a Reserve Fund strictly so called. It is this view which usually appeals to the layman who deposits his money with Central Banks. The man in the street views with great suspicion the use of reserve fund as working capital. It is no use telling him that "owned capital" should be increased or that fluid resources are necessary. A reserve fund according to him is an inviolable fund built out of profits, invested *outside the movement* to be used only in times of grave emergency.

In the light of these considerations let us now proceed to enquire into the manner in which the Reserve Funds of Central Banks in Bengal have been actually utilised. The by-laws framed by the Department lay down with sufficient clearness the various uses of this fund. In the first place the fund may be used to cover any loss arising from unforeseen circumstances and to meet any call on the bank which cannot be met otherwise. In the second place the Reserve Fund serves as a security for any loans which the bank may have to contract. If the funds are drawn upon to meet unforeseen losses the rules contemplate that sums thus drawn upon should be reimbursed from the next accruing profits. It will appear from these rules that the framers had clearly in view an inviolable fund which should be utilised only in exceptional circumstances.

The Co-operative Societies Act, 1912, permits a registered society to invest all its funds including the Reserve Fund in gilt-edged securities or in other securities approved by the Registrar. The departmental rules framed by the Registrar in Bengal require that all Central Banks, as soon as their reserve funds reach Rs. 250, should deposit such funds in the Provincial Co-operative Bank in preference to securities specifically mentioned in the Act. Societies of long standing which have proved their credit are, however, permitted to use their Reserve Fund as working capital.

Reserve funds deposited with the Provincial Bank may be withdrawn at any time with the permission of the Registrar. It is pointed out in the circular issued by the Department that the concentration of the Reserve Fund in the Provincial Bank is likely to strengthen the

¹ Calvert, Law and Principles of Co-operation (1933), p. 249.

movement as it will facilitate the mobilisation of such resources. It will have the further advantage that the reserve fund will be invested in a readily realisable form. As the circular points out "Too much stress...cannot be laid on the need for an adequate cash reserve for every co-operative bank, as without such a reserve their financial position will always be open to criticism by businessmen."

The conception of a Reserve Fund as embodied here is somewhat different from that envisaged in the by-laws. The main function emphasised in the Registrar's circular is that of providing liquid cover against deposits. The idea of a Reserve Fund, inviolable and indivisible, set apart for the specific purpose of meeting unforeseen losses recedes into the background, while the necessity of liquid reserve as a means of popularising Central Banks is given a prominent place.

It is, however, strange to find that notwithstanding circulars and instructions, in a large number of cases the Reserve Fund has actually been used as working capital. It was only with the advent of the depression of 1929 that attention was drawn to the risk involved in such a practice and the necessity of separating the Reserve Fund from working capital was realised.¹ Thus we have the by-laws contemplating the establishment of a separate inviolable *Reserve Fund*, the departmental circular emphasising the need for a *Reserve* as a means of securing liquid assets, while the banks themselves using the undistributed profits as a *Reserve Account*.

This anomaly should be done away with. It is essential that the Reserve Funds of Central Banks should be taken out of working capital and invested separately outside the movement. While it is desirable that the owned capital should increase, it is of greater importance to secure the confidence of the public. Safety should in no circumstance be sacrificed for the sake of profit. Looked at from this point of view it may be seriously questioned whether the present policy of depositing the whole of the Reserve Fund of Central Banks in the Provincial Co-operative Bank is a sound one.

The Provincial Bank uses this deposit as a part of its working capital. And it makes no difference to the co-operative movement as a whole whether these undistributed profits are used directly by Central Banks as working capital or indirectly *via* the channel of Provincial Bank. Any danger which threatens the Provincial Bank is likely to

¹ Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies, Bengal, 1931-32.

involve the Central Banks also in one common ruin. That this risk is not a fanciful one will appear from the disaster that overtook the Burma Provincial Co-operative Bank.¹ It may also be recalled in this connection that when the C. P. Provincial Co-operative Bank came to grief in 1920 the whole co-operative structure was on the point of collapse. Due mainly to over-financing of Central Banks and primary societies, the Provincial Bank was living a hand-to-mouth existence during the first half of the year 1920. In September, 1920, the Provincial Bank refused to allow further drawings by certain Central Banks² upon cash credits granted to them not only for the finance of primary societies but even as a fluid resource or cover for deposits. When the task of reconstruction was taken in hand one of the resolutions passed by the representatives of Provincial and Central Banks was that the Reserve Fund should be deposited with the Government. Even in our own province it must be remembered that the Government of Bengal had to come to the rescue of the Provincial Bank in 1936.

If it is not possible to invest the whole of the Reserve fund outside the movement, at least a portion, say 50 p. c. should be invested in gilt-edged securities. The Committee on Co-operation in Burma presided over by Mr. Calvert suggested that the whole of the Reserve Fund should be invested in Government Securities.³ The Bihar and Orissa Committee on Co-operation was more generous to the Central Banks. The Committee recommended that 50% of the Reserve Fund should be utilised as working capital by Central Banks. But even this Committee recognised the necessity⁴ of investing a portion of the profits outside the movement in gilt-edged securities, first class debentures, or fixed deposits in an approved bank unconnected with the co-operative movement. The Townsend Committee on Co-operation, Madras, unanimously recommended that Central Banks should be encouraged to invest their Reserve Funds in redeemable Government securities.⁵ The practice prevailing in Bengal should, therefore, be modified in the light of these recommendations.

¹ Calvert Committee on Co-operation, pp. 73-76.

² King Committee on Co-operation, C. P., 1922, p. 4.

³ Committee on Co-operation, Burma, pp. 62-63.

⁴ Committee on Co-operation, Bihar and Orissa, p. 75.

⁵ Committee on Co-operation, Madras, 1927-28, p. 81.

MANAGING AGENTS IN THE ROLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL FINANCIER.

SAROJKUMAR BASU, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer in Economics and Commerce, University of Calcutta

PART II

DEFECTS OF THE MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM OF FINANCE—INTER-INVESTMENT OF MILL FUNDS

ALTHOUGH the managing agency system has rendered a very useful service to Indian industry¹ by furnishing the necessary finances directly or indirectly, the system of financing by managing agents has been open to grave defects. In many cases they have pursued such unsound and questionable methods in financing industries under their control that the whole system of financing by managing agents has come to be regarded as unreliable, uncertain and unstable. The practice of inter-investment of funds by managing agents constitutes perhaps the most vital defect in this system of finance.

The surplus funds of one mill may sometimes be invested in the shares and debentures of another mill under the same Managing Agency. Funds raised on the credit of one concern may be lent to another under the same agents. There have been several cases in recent years where such a practice has been followed in the cotton mill industry. The balance sheets of various cotton mills both in Bombay and Ahmedabad are dotted with records of loans and advances to companies in which the same agents are interested.

The Nagpur, Swadeshi and Ahmedabad Advance Mills purchased in 1922 the debentures issued by the Tata Mills under the same Managing Agency (Tata Sons, Ltd.) to the extent of Rs. 60,00,000 and out of a total issue of Rs. 1,00,00,000 in 1927 the Fazulbhoy, Pearl, Crescent and Indian Bleaching mills all under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim & Sons, Ltd., purchased shares of the premier mills under the same agents to the extent of Rs. 13,71,390.

The balance sheet of Sir Shapurji Broacha Mills for the year ending 31st March, 1924, shows an advance of Rs. 4,35,353-5-4 to the Ind. Woollen Mills under the same agents (Messrs. Mathuradas Gokuldas & Co.) and that of the Morarji Goculdas Mills for 30th June, 1925, shows a loan of Rs. 1,27,210-10-11 to the Dharmasi Morarji Woollen Mills under the same management. The balance sheet of the Finlay Mills for 1926 discloses a loan of Rs. 5,50,000 to Swan Mills under the same agents and that of the Gold Mohar Mills for 30th September, 1927, shows a loan of Rs. 3 lakhs from the Finlay Mills under the same agency.¹ Instances can easily be multiplied. Such a method of financing is highly questionable. There may be no evil consequences when the financial standing of both the mills is very good but the interests of the shareholders as well as the larger interests of the industry may be seriously prejudiced when the funds of a concern of a strong financial position are employed in financing a comparatively weaker one. Reserves of several well-established mills have in this manner been frittered away by lending them to others newly started by the same Managing Agents. When the new mills fell under evil days they dragged the o'd ones to liquidation along with them. This interlocking of interests often spells ruin even for financially sound concerns which have been tacked on to weaker sister concerns. It tends also to perpetuate quite wastefully the life of even thoroughly insolvent or unsound concerns which in the larger interests of the industry as a whole should be immediately closed down.² A reference to the proceedings of the Tariff Board of 1927 conducting the cotton textile industry enquiry will show several instances where this practice of mixing up the funds of different concerns resulted in heavy losses and in the ultimate ruin of the better concerns in an attempt to save the weaker ones. The employment of the funds of the New Spinning Mill for financing the Haripur and the Ahmedabad Vepar Uttejakk under the same management, the advances in the cases of the Saraspur, Edward and Srinagar Mills under the same agents, and those in the case of the Whittle Mills (Broach), Asarva and Swadeshi Mills (Ahmedabad), Surat Industrial mills, Viramgram Spinning and Manufacturing Company,

¹ Representation to the Tariff Board, 1932, of the Bombay Shareholders' Association, dated 11th June, 1932.

² Memorandum of Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to the Government of India regarding Amendments to Indian Companies' Act, Dec. 1934. See the Ind. Economist, January 7, 1935, p. 393.

Viramgram Alfred Mills Coy. and Kulol Kapadia Mills—all under one agency—and the consequent heavy loss and liquidations are matters of record.¹ The practice is not so rare as was supposed by the Tariff Board of 1927 and during the last few years of depression it has tended to grow considerably.²

The practice is not entirely unknown in Calcutta. There are some Managing Agents who strictly adhere to the principle of refraining from lending the funds of one company to others under their control and management. In the Martins, for instance, there is no such practice. But we have come across some cases of Calcutta managing agents who have taken to the practice of inter-investing.

The most notable instances in this connection are those of the India Jute Co., Ltd., and the Megna Mills Co., Ltd., and of the Gourepore Jute Co., Ltd., and the Nuddea Jute Mills, Ltd., all in the Group which consists of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Barry & Co. and McNeill & Co. The summary of capital and list of shareholders of the Megna Mills on 31st December, 1921, show that out of all 61,208 shares issued 50,000 were held by the India Jute Co., Ltd.³ The Megna was promoted in 1920 by the managing agents of the India Jute and the funds of the latter were invested in its share capital. Not only did the India Jute invest in the shares of the Megna but it had also been lending to it enormous funds ever since its establishment. On 30th September, 1922, the borrowings of the Megna from the India Jute stood at Rs. 65,52,000. At one time they touched the enormous figure of more than one crore of rupees.⁴ The shares of the Megna have considerably depreciated in value, they were being quoted at the date of the last balance sheet at Rs. 22-8 per share while the nominal value was Rs. 40. It gives an idea of the enormous loss sustained by the promoting company which held, still in 1935, 40,540 ordinary shares in the Megna representing more than 50% of its share capital.⁵

The Directors' Report of the Gouripore Company, Ltd., a jute concern under Barry & Co., for the half year ending 31st March 1920 discloses a proposal for the payment of a bonus on ordinary capital

¹ Ind. Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry), 1927, IV (Evidence), p. 410.

² Report of the Ind. Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry), 1932, p. 85.

³ Summary of Capital and List of Shareholders: The Megna Mills, Ltd., 13 Dec., 1921.

⁴ See Balance Sheet of the India Jute Co., Ltd., and Megna Mills, Ltd., from Sept., 1922 to Sept., 1935.

⁵ Jute Mills Review corrected up to 30 Sept., 1935. Ed. by H. P. Khandelwal.

at the rate of 400% per annum by fully paid shares in the Nuddea Mills, Ltd., under the same managing agency, Rs. 24 lakhs were thus invested in the Nuddea shares.¹ The balance-sheets of the Gourepore show further investments in the 7% mortgage debenture loan of the Nuddea Mills. The Gourepore jute is also found to have invested in the Gourepore Electric Supply Company, Ltd., under the same managing agency. In 1935 it held in the Electric Company 53,500 ordinary shares of Rs. 100 each.²

Another instance is furnished by the Alliance Jute Mills Co., Ltd., which utilised 15 lakhs of rupees out of the undivided profits standing to the credit of its reserve fund in purchasing 150,000 shares of Rs. 10, each in the capital of the Waverly Jute Mills Co., Ltd., under the same managing Agents, Begg Dunlop & Co.³

Cases of inter-investment of funds in other industries are also to be found. There is, however, a difference with the Bombay practice for in most of their cases the Managing Agents were authorised by Special Resolutions of Shareholders in general meetings to make these investments. The acquisition of shares in sister companies under the managing agency by Special Resolutions of shareholders in general meetings is not entirely unknown in Bombay and Ahmedabad and, as far as it goes, is to be preferred to direct action on the part of the managing agents without the knowledge and previous consent of the shareholders. By a Resolution of the Company in General Meeting the Osman Shahi Mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim & Sons purchased 12 lakhs worth of shares of the Azamjahi Mills under the same agency and the Raipur Manufacturing Company took shares of the value of 25 lakhs in the Arvind Mills in the Managing Agency of which its agents were interested. Any way, this is an unsound method of financing and is liable to be abused.

Other defects of the Managing Agency System of Finance.

The number of companies under the control of a managing agency firm is sometimes so large that the strain on its financial resources becomes very great. It becomes impossible on its part to meet adequately the demands of the several concerns under its

¹ Proceeding of the Ordinary Half Yearly General Meeting of Shareholders held on 8 June, 1920.

² Balance-sheet of the Gourepore Coy. dated 31st March, 1935.

³ Return of Allotment on 28th October, 1916, of the Waverly Jute Mills, Ltd.

management. How heavy the financial strain may be is amply illustrated by the acquisition by the Currimbhoys of the agencies of the Mathradas group of mills in 1923.¹ The difficulties are further accentuated by the entire absence of any practice among managing agency firms to work in joint co-operation or in Syndicates when financing industry on a large scale. Investment bankers all over the world have adopted this practice not only to solve the problem of financing which may be too big for any one of them singly but also to spread out the risks among the participants. These are not to be achieved under the Indian system of financing by managing agents.

Although the most important function of managing agents is to render financial assistance to industrial concerns under their management, managing agency agreements seldom make it obligatory for them to provide their assistance adequately. Elaborate provisions are found in the Articles of Association and the agreements themselves which stipulate that the managing agents will be entitled to charge and be paid by the companies interest, even with monthly rests, not only for all advances made by them but also for those made by the third parties, the repayment of which may have to be guaranteed by them.² But there is no reference to any obligation on their part to provide the requisite finance, or to any penalty in case they fail to do so, when required, on reasonable terms. The managing agency agreement of the Mohini Mills, Ltd., contains a clause to this effect. It is provided that the managing agents should remain obliged to advance up to Rs. 60,000 for carrying on the work of the mill if necessary at 7% interest, for which they will have the first charge on the movable and immovable property of the mill. If they fail to supply the money, they may be dismissed by the Directors and may even be required to compensate the mill company if it has suffered in any way owing to their inability to furnish the money.³ This forms an exception and is not to be met with in the general run of agreements.

The absence of such provisions makes it easy for the managing agents to escape from and shirk the responsibilities of financing when

¹ Indian Companies Act : Case for Amendment Representation of the Bombay Shareholders' Association to Government of India, p. 5.

² Art 110, Articles of Association, 8th December, 1930. The Gorepore Electric Supply Ltd

³ Cl. 22 of the Managing Agency Agreement. The Mohini Mills, Ltd.

the concern falls into bad times. In times of prosperity the funds may be advanced willingly and readily enough. But when a crisis envelops the industry or the particular concern is badly hit, the managing agents are either unable or unwilling to furnish the considerable amounts of money required. There are no doubt many cases where the agents have not failed to rise to the height of the occasion and have made magnificent sacrifices for their concerns. They have been known to put their private fortunes at their back and even to mortgage the ornaments of their womenfolk to save an industry in a crisis. But there are many cases where the concerns have come to grief owing to the inability or unwillingness of managing agents to render necessary assistance. The real point is that the absence of any provision in the contract rendering it obligatory on the agent's part to provide adequate finance and the consequent immunity they enjoy on default has made the arrangement entirely one-sided and highly detrimental to the interests of the companies. The agents enjoy all the rights and emoluments pertaining to their office but are not under any contractual obligation to perform the main duty of their office—the provision of finance. It is unfortunate that the Indian Companies Amendment Act of 1936 which aims at a reform of the Managing Agency System contains no provision to this effect.

Trading and speculation by managing agents is another great defect. There are several instances, specially on the Bombay side, when the agents sustained considerable losses in share and cotton speculation. The consequent deterioration in the financial position of managing agents had undesirable repercussions on the mills themselves. Although the mills themselves were intrinsically sound, banks withdrew their cash credits because the agents had become weak.¹

Some of the methods adopted by the managing agents in financing industry have been highly questionable. In a number of cases managing agents have turned their loans into debentures with the results that the concerns have passed into their hands and the shareholders have lost all their capital invested in them. Several instances may be quoted from Bombay. They are not unknown in Calcutta and during the war-end boom many such cases were heard.

¹ Ind. Central Banking Enq. Committee, Vol. I, Part I.

In the case of a well-known coal company the managing agents converted their loans into debentures and ultimately took possession.

The Managing Agency system rendered valuable services to Indian industries in the past. It has been in force in India in its present form for the last 60 or 70 years and without its help the industrial development of the country would never have reached its present stage. Finance is the life-blood of industrial growth and that finance has been made available for Indian industry through this system. Whenever the industries are in need of finance, whether for extensions and replacements of machinery or for current expenditure or even for initial block, it is the Managing Agents who have to furnish it themselves or make arrangements for it. The services rendered by managing agents in this connection have been very aptly compared to those rendered by the German banks to national industries.¹ In India where banking has developed on the lines of British commercial banking, which does not specially provide for industrial finance, industrial development would never have gone even as far as its present stage, if the managing agency system had not come into being. This system has fostered Indian industries in a way very similar to the industrial activities of the continental banks.²

But it must be admitted that there has been considerable degeneration of the managing agents in the present times. The good and well-established agency firms, whether Indian or European, have rendered invaluable services to Indian industry and its development and may still be of great advantage. But the modern managing agents, with a few exceptions, do not possess any of the characteristics of the old established houses. They do not possess the most important characteristic of managing agents that of the ability to provide finance for the concerns under their control. Their limited resources and credit are much too inadequate for the purpose. The finance required for modern companies is so enormous that it is becoming increasingly difficult even for the older houses to assist the companies under their management. The burden has been too heavy to bear. The difficulties have been considerably aggravated by the fact that managing agents, unlike investment bankers elsewhere, have

¹ See Dr. Nimenyi's Evidence. Ind. Central Banking Enq. Committee, Vol. II, p. 203.

² Dr. Nimenyi's letter, dated 21st August, 1932, to the Indian Tariff Board (Textile Industry), 1932, Vol. III, p. 217.

refrained from working in syndicates. This, it may be recalled, constitutes one of the gravest defects of the managing agency system of finance. The holdings of managing agents in the companies under their control have considerably diminished and in many instances are insignificant. A divergence of interest has naturally been created between the agents and their concerns. The absence of any obligation in the contract to supply finance on the part of the managing agents has rendered such a system of financing extremely unsteady and unreliable. The close sense of personal identity between the managing agent and his company which dominated the older houses and still actuates some of the well-established firms might have reduced the importance of this shortcoming. But it is fast disappearing and was even noticed by the Tariff Board of 1932.

Another quality which made the managing agency system so successful in the past was the efficiency of the agents based on their experience and technical knowledge. The newfangled managing agents have no knowledge of manufacture,—engineering, technical or scientific. They have no expert knowledge of purchase nor of sales. Purchase agents are appointed at the cost of the company and sales are entrusted to ignorant wholesale agents who again are paid by the company. The various irregularities committed in filing balance-sheets, lists of shareholders, extraordinary resolutions with the Registrars of Joint-Stock Companies are an illuminating commentary on their knowledge of commercial law and training in secretarial work.¹

Under the circumstances the financing of Indian enterprises should be made less dependent on the managing agency system than before. The possibilities of forming an organisation should be explored for supplying finance to Indian industries, specially that particular form of finance which has been the most important function of the managing agents to provide—*viz.*, finance during the development period and for extension and reorganisation. One of the main causes of the perpetuation of the managing agency system has been shown to be the policy of the Imperial Bank not to lend current finance to industry against the hypothecation of liquid assets only but to demand an additional guarantee from managing agents on the ground that hypothecation was no security under the Act of 1920.

¹ Source : Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies, Bengal, at an interview.

With the passing of the Imperial Bank Amendment Act of 1934, the Bank has been authorised to lend directly against the hypothecation of goods, subject to the direction of the Central Board.¹ Now that hypothecation is no mere additional collateral security as under the old Act, the additional guarantee of managing agents can be dispensed with by the Imperial Bank and following it by other banks as well. One of the main reasons, therefore, on which the existence of the managing agency system has been justified and has been sought to be perpetuated has lost much of its force to-day.

(concluded)

¹ Letter to the writer from the Managing Director, Imperial Bank of India, dated 20th March, 1936.



A CRITIQUE OF BHĀSKARA'S DOCTRINE OF SIMULTANEOUS DIFFERENCE AND NON-DIFFERENCE

PROF. ASHOKANATH SHASTRI, VEDĀNTATĪRTHA, M.A., P.R.S.,
Calcutta University.

ALMOST all the different schools of Vedānta philosophy (with the exception of the Mādhvas, Pāśupatas and other dualistic interpreters of the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa) are unanimous in maintaining that *Brahman is the identity of the efficient and substantive cause* (abhinnanimittopādāna). And this position of the Sūtrakāra who asserts the identity of the efficient and substantive cause of the world-order, has received the most rational exposition in the hands of the Advaitins alone. The Monists affirm that Prakṛti or Māyā is the formative or material cause which actually *transforms* itself into the world (pariṇāmopādāna), while Brahman is regarded as the cause which *appears* to the ignorant as undergoing real modification in the world-process (vivartopādāna). But in reality Brahman is only the fundamental basis (adhiṣṭhāna) over which this illusory process takes place, and its appearance to an ignorant mind becomes possible by reason of its being founded upon the real substratum, *i.e.*, the Absolute. Brahman, as the substratum is concealed by the veiling power (āvaraṇa-śakti) of Māyā, and is made to appear as the universe by virtue of its projective power (vikṣepa-śakti).¹ So, Brahman cannot be called the changing material cause (pariṇāmopādāna). But that does not debar us from regarding Brahman as the apparent cause (vivartopādāna). The concept of material cause does not necessarily imply a real process of transformation in the causal stuff and can be applied with equal propriety to the illusory or apparent cause as well. The real pre-supposition of a material cause is that the effect produced derives its existence from the former, and it is absolutely immaterial whether the derivation of existence is real or apparent. The definition of material cause is thus given in the Siddhāntaleśasamgraha by Appaya Dikṣita :

¹ According to the Advaitins, Māyā has " the two properties of *āvaraṇa* or hiding the truth, and *vikṣepa* or misrepresenting it. While the first is a mere negation of knowledge the second is positive generation of error."—Radhakrishnan, Ind. Phil., Vol. II, first edition, p. 571.

‘It is that which produces an effect which is non-different from itself.’¹

This identity may either be illusory (*kalpita*) or empirical (*vyāvahārika*). To take the stock example of the shell and silver, the identity between the shell and silver is only illusory, as the silver itself is illusory. In the case of this phenomenal world also, the identity of the world with Brahman is equally illusory, subject to the proviso that the illusion in the latter case is of a very long duration and has got more method and consistency in it and so can be easily distinguished from cases of ordinary illusions and dreams. The recognition of this fact has been responsible for the apparent gradation and classification of existence (*sattā*), under *three* heads, *viz.*, the *Absolute* existence (*pāramārthika-sattā*), the *empirical* existence (*vyāvahārika-sattā*) and the *illusory* existence (*prātibhāsika-sattā*). But to be precise and logical, the difference between the two latter kinds of existence is one of degree and not of kind. They are equally false from the standpoint of Absolute existence. The position has been made clearer by Vācaspati in the *Bhāmātī*,² where he has fully established the *imaginary non-difference* between the cause and the effect. *The identity is not real*. Bhāskara, on the contrary, holds that difference (*bheda*) and non-difference (*abheda*) of the cause and the effect are *both equally real*.³

Now, the relation of cause and effect can be either one of identity or of difference, and there is no half-way house between the two, as the two alternatives divide between them the whole realm of reality. Let us examine whether the relation can be one of absolute identity. It is of course undeniable that there is a homogeneity between the cause and the effect and it is this fact which distinguishes a causal relation from a mere accidental sequence. The timber is the cause of the table and not of the curtain, because we fail to notice any similarity or homogeneity between them. Even the Vaiśeṣikas, who are empiricists out and out, have not failed to notice this peculiarity. On the contrary, they have postulated it as the universal condition of material

¹ “Svābhionakāryajanakatvam,” *Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha*, Benares ed., p. 72.

² *Bhāmātī* under *Sāṅkara-Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra*, II, 1.14—“*Tad ananyatva adhi-karaṇa*” (II, 1.14-20).

³ *Kāryarūpeṇa nānātvam abhedaḥ kāraṇātmanā*—Bhāskara’s commentary, Benares ed., p. 18.

⁴ “Things are non-different in their casual and generic aspects and different as effects and individuals.”—Radhakrishnan, *Ind. Phil.*, Vol. II, first edition, p. 670.

causation. Now, the question arises as to what we should understand by this homogeneity or similarity. Is it *identity* of nature? No; in that case there can be no distinction between a cause and an effect; the two will be identical and there will remain either the cause or the effect. Then some amount of difference has to be postulated, if we are to form a logical estimate of causal relation. But is this *difference*, then, which we have seen to be indispensable to the conception of causality,—one of absolute otherness? No; in that case anything can be the cause of any other thing—the timber will be the cause of the table-cloth, as the two are quite distinct and different. Bhāskara, and for the matter of that all realistic philosophers, have found in this position a hard nut to crack and they have not felt any logical scruple in declaring that the relation is neither one of identity nor one of difference, but a peculiar one in which the two contradictories are found to have established a family-relationship. But this is too much to believe. The position of Bhāskara here pays but scant regard to the demand of logical consistency and violates the fundamental laws of thought, *viz.*, the Law of Identity and the Law of Excluded Middle. A can be A, or not-A, but *not both or neither*. If you insist that it is found to be so in experience and that experience is the ultimate court of appeal in such a dispute, we shall only observe that uncritical experience, without being subjected to a logical examination, is an unsafe and unreliable guide. We see the moon to be of the size of a small silver plate, and there is no occasion for its being invalidated by another experience; but this does not warrant the validity of the experience in question. Even the rabid empiricist, who does not hesitate to immolate our logical sense at the altar of the God of Experience, will demur to accept the verdict of experience in this instance as true and final. And why do you discredit the verdict, we ask with all humility? Certainly you must admit—because it militates against reason. So experience cannot be believed to be antagonistic to reason, and where there is this apparent contradiction, we must conclude that there is something rotten in experience.

Now, to revert to our old problem—the problem of causation. We have seen that the relation is a peculiar one and is inconceivable without reference to identity and difference—both at the same time. But identity and difference are contradictory and so cannot be simultaneously predicated of the same thing. Bhāskara calls upon us to accept this position on the strength of experience; but we have seen

that this experience may be unreliable and it *is* so when it is opposed to reason and infringes the fundamental laws of thought. And so long as our logical sense refuses to be coaxed or coerced into the implicit acceptance of a contradictory proposition, and so long as we cannot change the constitution of our minds, we cannot accept the explanation of Bhāskara, which is only a dodge and a subterfuge to evade the logical difficulty. So *identity and difference cannot both be true*; but it is undeniable that they are found to be the essential characteristics of a causal relation. Without identity the causal relation cannot be distinguished from cases of mechanical or accidental sequence; and without the aspect of difference the causal relation becomes an impossible phenomenon. The cause and the effect must be different and distinct; otherwise there will be either the cause or the effect but *not* both, which is, however, seen to be the very connotation of causal relation. Yes, this is the plain testimony of experience no doubt, but that does not invest it with a character of sanctity. An absurd position cannot be accepted even on the testimony of the Vedas. What would be the legitimate procedure in characterising this relation? The followers of Sāṅkara have not failed to rise to the height of their conviction and they declare that it is an absurdity—an *illusory appearance* like that of the silver on the shell and is the product of the same illusive Māyā which produces the whole show of the world-process. The identity and the difference both are false and inexplicable by logic. *The fact is there no doubt*, and we must bow to the inevitable and *cannot deny its existence*; but with this difference from Bhāskara and his ilk that *we cannot accept it to be absolute truth*.

We have seen that the position of Bhāskara, who postulates a real development and a real transformation in the nature of the Absolute, is fraught with self-contradiction and so cannot commend itself to any sane man, whose logical sense has not been drugged and dulled by the illogical vagaries of the so-called philosophers. But are we then to jump to the conclusion of the Nihilist that nothing exists and the whole world, subjective and objective, is but an empty show? No; such is not the position of the Vedāntic Monists and they have been far too sane and far too critical to accept this to be the case. The answer to this question has been sought and found in the analysis of any case of ordinary error and illusion. Take the notorious instance of shell-silver. The silver, declare the Vedāntic Monists, is an empty appearance no doubt, but the show is not all. It will be the height of

logical inaptitude to think that the appearance is the whole of it. If we probe the situation deeper, we cannot fail to see *that the appearance arises over a basic reality—even the simulation of existence is possible if there is behind it a true reality*. So the world is not an unmitigated illusion, but an illusion which is founded upon a true reality, *viz.*, the Absolute Consciousness. Śaṅkara has very pertinently observed that all errors are a case of confusion of real and unreal—a pairing together of a truth and a falsehood. This is the fundamental difference from the Mādhyamikas, at least a class of them whose views we find to be expounded in the Mādhyamika-kārikās of Nāgārjuna. We see in the world that there is continual change. But this change presupposes some identity which is to change. So identity (abheda) and difference (bheda)—continuity and change—are the fundamental keynotes of all experienced reality. But we have seen that both cannot be true at the same time, and if we are confronted with the alternative of accepting one and rejecting the other, *we must reject the aspect of difference as unreal appearance, dancing upon the basic foundation of unity or non-difference*; because difference cannot arise except on the foundation of two units, which are in their nature simple unities. If one of the two units be absent, the concept of difference becomes impossible, as each of the units constitutes its foundation and pivot, and if the foundation be lacking, how can it subsist? But the case of unity is quite different. It is perceived *in and by itself* and without any reference to any other unity. Thus difference is contingent upon unity and without unity its existence is inconceivable. And if one of them is to be discarded, we must give up the aspect of difference as false superimposition and accept the factor of unity as the basic reality; because unity is the pre-supposition of difference. And even if difference be accepted to be the final truth, unity will have to be accepted; as difference without unity as its basic support is a chimera. So between identity and difference we must perforce accept identity as the reality; since identity cannot be rejected, as it is the constituent factor and is the *raison d'être* even of difference.

Thus the theory of simultaneous difference and non-difference of Bhāskara has been very severely criticised by Vācaspati in the Bhāmātī (under Ś. B. on Br. Sū. I. 1. 14) by affirming the unreality of difference and the reality of non-difference, basing his arguments on the doctrine of the three different degrees and kinds of reality—the illusory existence, the phenomenal existence and the Ultimate Reality—

popularly known as the doctrine of three types of reality (sattātrai-vidhyavāda). Vācaspati challenges with unimpeachable logic the view of Bhāskara who supports the doctrine of the real evolution of the non-intelligent aspect of Brahman.¹

In conclusion, it only remains for us to remind the reader once more that the affirmation of the reality of non-difference should not be accepted as absolute truth.² By positing the reality of identity alone the Advaitins merely seek to exclude the reality of difference.³ But in reality this identity is also imaginary or false, inasmuch as it cannot be logically explained. From the standpoint of Absolute Truth, neither difference nor non-difference between the cause and the effect can be regarded as real. This peculiar position of the inexplicability and consequent unreality of the causal category has been fully dealt with by Śrī-Harṣa, who in his inimitable way has demonstrated that Causality is only an appearance and as such is indeterminable by logic.

¹ "Bhāskariyās tu cidacidamśavibbaktam Brahmadravayam acidamśena vikriyate."--Sarvārtbasiddhi, III. 27.

² It is for this reason that *Śaṅkara* explains 'non-difference between the cause and the effect' as 'the absence of the effect independent of the cause,' and not as the actual identity of the two. The effect has no independent existence of its own apart from that of the cause; so in reality the causal relation is only imaginary, having mere appearance, but no reality ('kāraṇāt paramārthato'nanayatvam vyatirekenābhāvaḥ kāryasya'—*Śaṅkara*, Br. Sū. Bh. II. 1. 14; 'na tvayam vibhāgaḥ paramārthato'sti'—*Ibid.*)

³ 'Na khalv ananyatvam ity abhedam brūmaḥ, kintu bhedaḥ vyāśedhāmaḥ'—*Bhāmātī*, S. B.. Br. Sū.; II. 1. 14.

INWARD VERACITY IN ITS RELIGIOUS SENSE

BARON V. BROCKDORFF,
Professor, University, Kiel (Germany).

THE spiritual mood of inward veracity differs greatly in degree, and can in fact only be judged with regard to great varieties of character. That is to say, we may begin with a man's honest desire to safeguard himself against self-deceptions and also to allow no intention on the part of others to mislead or confuse him or prevail over him and end with the passionate determination to vindicate and defend, even at the risk of his life what he holds to be true. In all these attitudes of mind, however varied in degree and quality, the intellectual question, what is true? what is real? will always play its part.

Nowhere is the soul more deeply concerned in this endeavour to get at the real substance of truth than in a man's striving to find a religious form that will satisfy his mind and give a comprehensive significance to his life. This struggle is by no means confined to individual souls, but takes place also in the mutual influencing and self-encouraging of men of the same religious faith who sometimes understand and sometimes misunderstand one another, *i.e.*, who believe themselves to be in agreement and who are yet only apparently congenial.

If even people closely connected by the same creed may be in doubt as to the moods and feelings of one another and exposed to grave errors, how is it then possible to characterize religious life as such at all? Rather than attempt to produce proofs, deductions and the like, let us try to reduce the problem to its simplest form. We all judge the religious sense of other people according to the possibilities of comparison which we find between our and their way of feeling. This way of feeling we assess according to its intensity, its artistic expression and the moral life of the people concerned. To this we add the conviction that religious feelings would under all circumstances preserve a certain original independence in the spiritual life of man, or that a predisposition to religious life exists which cannot be

explained as arising from other primary forces. Consequently, even if religious cults undergo developments of the most varied kinds, even if they be associated to a high degree with ideas wholly strange to us, we yet maintain that there does exist a fundamental fact in the nature of religious feelings. If, as has recently been claimed, faith, hope and charity exist even in primitive religions, then we should be able to produce empirical proofs as well in support of our view.

Such predispositions, however, cannot simply be termed individual tendencies: they are at the same time an integral part of social life and cannot be detached from it, without giving rise to serious conflicts. We must admit that Arabian philosophers in the Middle Ages, and later the earliest period of English enlightenment and the champions of religious toleration believed that there was to be found in the human heart a divine original text of what is true in a religious sense, and imagined religious development to be free from any other influence apart from that of Nature herself; whereas the later philosophers of the age of enlightenment, especially the French, in the second half of the 18th century, took the opposite course and made man's attitude to religion appear to be particularly dependent on education, perhaps more so than all the other forms of his intellectual life.

If we call to mind the philosophy of Spinoza, we find that in it the love of God is declared to be man's greatest possession. Accordingly only he obeys the divine law who seeks to love God. One of the principal commandments is that we should be just and love our neighbours. How would that be possible outside the bounds of some form of human society? How could a man serve God outside the bounds of human society? Consequently, however deeply the religious predisposition may be rooted in the nature of the individual, it could not, according to this system, be developed or formed outside the bounds of social life.

The histories of philosophy and literature teach us to regard Spinozism also as a kind of frame of mind and spiritual mood. Other philosophical systems, intrinsically related to Spinozism, give greater prominence to the nature and significance of this mood-content. And if we proceed to the example of the English Spinoza, namely, Francis Herbert Bradley (1846-1924), we shall be able to notice this fact most clearly. Bradley, too, was of the view that the emotions give us a positive notion of a non-relational unity (*Appearance and Reality*, II, Chap. 27). Only an infinite being can be completely harmonious.

If we strive emotionally towards the infinite, we resemble the river hurrying down to the sea: the ego loses itself in love.

No matter whether our spiritual mood is the consequence and result of our participation in a religious cult, that is to say, is a consequence and result of our social life, or whether it appears as the expression of emotional intensification, the spiritual complex can make itself the object of its own analysis, can become the object of a psychological explanation, in order to reveal the intellectual aspect of what is felt and desired.

Behind such an effort there will be a passionate determination to get at the truth, a determination which will increase more and more in intensity, affect the whole personality, and in fact in the end completely absorb it. Obviously a man then not only distinguishes between himself and his own more real self, but places himself in contrast with the religious community from which he has gone forth. The determination to get at the truth is then a striving towards detachment and individualization, in a sense even towards isolation.

From time immemorial there have been men whose inward insincerity has kept pace with their outward insincerity. They proclaim metaphysics, they do not believe in it, cannot believe in it, because it is absurd, repugnant, and an offence against even the most elementary good taste. The most grotesque logical discords can no more deflect them from their purpose than a fist banged down on a piano can disconcert a deaf and dumb man. In order to deceive the people their abysmal untruthfulness leads them to feign, among other things, a theological mentality which was certainly never theirs and of the complete worthlessness of which they are themselves fully aware. All religions have not only opposed such conduct, but produced examples of the contrary. Against it philosophy from the earliest times has characterized inward as well as outward lack of veracity, has in fact condemned the mere pretence of an idealistic conception of the world and ideal sentiments, because at heart only mean avarice actually existed. Sri Ramakrishna, too, expresses himself in like manner on this point. He did not want to learn Sanskrit, because the priests, although they were able to speak about reality and appearance, Brahma and Maya, the salvation of the soul by entrance into the one Atman, in practice attached more importance to worldly pleasures. Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) declared that philosophizers were alone the most wretched of all creatures, because they pretended to teach wisdom only in order

to earn a living. Colerus could devise no nobler memorial for the great Spinoza than the words: "*Spinoza erat nullius rei nec simulator nec dissimulatur*," i.e., he pretended nothing and concealed nothing.

A retrospective survey of religions, or more exactly, of religions at certain periods in the history of the world, enables us to estimate the value of participation or non-participation in the ceremonies of a cult as indications of a religious disposition. But in a cult dogmas and articles of faith are revealed. Max Müller, in his work *Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings* (London and Bombay, 1898), says that to the great Reformer the image-worship, which the majority of priests performed in a mechanical fashion, was a matter of the most solemn seriousness. Whenever he prayed to his tutelary goddess, the terrible, almighty Kali, she appeared for the time being before his mind's eye, and he contemplated the symbolical meaning of her attributes.

It will not be necessary to examine the religions known to us with a view to discovering what their symbols express, in order to declare that the attribution of a meaning to such symbols, as also the origin of the dogmas, are traceable back to fear, to human desires, hopes, spiritual moods, in a word, to man himself. To whatever people or age we turn, we shall always find different gods corresponding to different desires and feelings. It may be that nature and environment, or that the native country in the sense of the people, is responsible for this variety. All peoples have their national gods. The hymns of the *Rigveda* make us acquainted in India with Indra, the god of thunder-storms, Agni, the god of fire, Brihasepati, the Lord of the Brahman, Vishnu and Usas. Naturally, the peoples believe, every people believes, that they worship the gods, their gods, in the proper way, that is to say, in such a way that they may expect from them the fulfilment of their desires, national as well as personal. Indra is a god of battles, endowed with power to perform warlike deeds: if, by means of the proper word, the suitable hymn, the adequate sacrifice, he is not only supplicated, but in a sense placed under an obligation, then he will not refuse his help in approaching battles, i.e., he will be a god of victory.

Only gradually, in the course of time, did the personalities of the old Indian gods recede in favour of the idea of a non-anthropomorphic, independent, cosmic principle. A process admitting of a similar psychological explanation takes place in many civilizations, if only they have lasted long enough.

If we regard the advance of Islam into North Africa and Southern Europe as a reaction against the wars of conquest of the old Roman Empire, then Allah appears as a god of victory and the divine incorporation of the dreams of the Arab tribes united by Muhammad. In the course of centuries, after victories which carried Islam as far as the north of Spain, contacts with Christians and Jews made more and more for a more independent and spiritualized conception of God, without, however, laying bare the fundamental psychological motives of earlier Islam.

In the consciousness of European Christians of today the idea of a philosophical identification of God with the expression of truth is at the same time combined with an elucidation of the psychological basis of the belief in the value of dogmas and ceremonial forms of worship. Let us remember the mystery of the Incarnation, as L. Feuerbach describes it, namely, that God is of the nature of the heart: "The heart can only turn to the heart; it finds consolation in itself alone in its own nature!" We pursue the same train of thought, when we explain the mystery of the suffering God. Feuerbach says, "The heart is the source, the essence of all suffering. A being without suffering is a being without a heart. The mystery of the suffering. God is therefore the mystery of feeling; a suffering God is a feeling, sentimental God. But the axiom, God is a feeling being, is only the religious way of expressing the axiom: feeling, is in its very nature divine!" It follows from this that religion is the reflection of human life in itself. If this is accepted, then the following mysteries can be traced back to the nature of man himself: the Trinity, the logos, the world-creative principle in God, the omnipotence of the spirit, *i.e.*, of prayer, faith miracles, the resurrection, the personal God, personal immortality, etc. In all religions prayer is one of the most impressively efficacious features; for it demands of God nothing less than an interference in the causal sequence of events and in fact makes him get at variance with the laws governing the course of nature. To man, when he prays, God's arbitrary power is boundless, *i.e.*, the omnipotence of God's benevolence is to man identical with the omnipotence of the desires expressed in his prayers. Here we find one of the most important roots of our problem of inward veracity. Fear of the "natural" course of things comes into conflict with the belief in the compelling power of prayer. What is more powerful,—the inherent force of the course

of events, or the longing of the heart ? The New Testament demands of us that we should worship God in the spirit and in truth ; modern European philosophers, *e.g.*, Campanella, speak of man's having a share in the original divine attributes : power, *wisdom* and love ; and finally Descartes, the ' father ' of modern philosophy, says that God should actually be worshipped as veracity. The veracity of God gives us therefore a guarantee for the reality of the external world.

If veracity, the perpetual determination to pretend nothing, is founded in the character or nature of God, if it is here that we must look for the source of all certainty, then the striving after veracity is divine. That being so, the question of acknowledging the alternative between the omnipotence of our heart's desires expressed in prayer and of the natural course of events forces us to clarify our own mental attitude. We must now know what is true, what is real.

We cannot define reality simply as the coherence of our perceptions and incorporate the real into this coherence, but rather we must express the perceptions gained in one sphere by means of others belonging to a different one and find a mathematical form in which to express this. The mathematical expression will tend more and more to take on an abstract form ; but still it will enhance the unity of our knowledge of the external world. The times are past when the astronomer had simply to calculate and to explain the position and course of the stars, or when the physicist, the chemist, in other words, the scientist in the laboratory, merely explained the phenomena and processes that presented themselves to him in experiments and definite observations. To-day the exact sciences can be regarded as being indissolubly bound up with one another. Temperatures, such as we shall never be able to produce, reveal themselves to us in the interior of the stars. Even through the most powerful of telescopes these stars can be seen merely as specks, and yet we know at least as much about what is going on in their interiors as we do about the processes on the surface of the sun. We apply this knowledge also to that gained in the laboratory, just as conversely we make use on a cosmic scale of our practical knowledge gained close at hand. Astronomy does not only merge into astrophysics, but obviously into general physics and chemistry as well. Over all this unity a new mathematico-physico-logical law now obtains : probability has now become a general physical peculiarity of all things (*in abstracto*).

For thousands of years people were wont to say that there was nothing new under the sun, and such vague and highly popular phrases have even been repeated, and emphatically repeated, by philosophers. It is certainly true that in all philosophizing the "right" combination of fixed and settled meanings of designations plays an important part, but does that warrant our subscribing to F. Max Müller's opinion: "All philosophy can be called a war between the old and the new meanings of words" (*Das Denken im Lichte der Sprache*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 557)? No, it is not really a controversy over words; entirely new ways and possibilities of thought and entirely new methods remould man's mental attitude.

Centuries ago, *i.e.*, in the classical age of the natural sciences and during the age of enlightenment, the conviction definitely obtained that everything happened of necessity and that it was in the nature of the human mind to judge everything from the standpoint of necessity. Only once admittedly, and then only for a comparatively short time, was there for this a kind of definite pattern: we refer to the cosmic formula of Laplace. Laplace maintained that all processes could be expressed by differential equations as used in Newtonian mechanics. But Laplace's theory had, strictly speaking, only a bearing on mass-points, and could only be upheld in the case of heavenly bodies which are so remote that they, *i.e.*, the suns and planets, can be regarded, of course only approximately, as mass-points. Only in this case, and on the vague assumption that everything happens in the same way on a small as on a large scale, could a hypothesis be developed, according to which all events might be calculated (in a pre-relativistic sense) backward in the past and forward in the future. But the mechanics of the *continua* enables us already to transform Laplace's causality into a statistic view. As soon as we pass from statistics to the theory of probabilities, we have already rejected Max Müller's view; for who would have thought of applying the modest considerations of probability made in the seventeenth century to astronomy, mechanics, the science of electricity, the science of population, and so to history? It is clear, therefore, that we must repeatedly revise what we have learnt; that is to say, our striving after veracity can only take the form of working and co-operating in the progress of the natural sciences and the humanities. In this connection all truth would only be historical, not absolute. Truth is co-operation.

From this premiss, however, new light will also be shed on the religious conceptions of the past, in the present connection, *e.g.*, on chance and probability in the question of salvation. In the sense of physical chance, from which we started, chance is denied and rejected by the Christian religion, as this religion makes everything dependent on God and consequently removes it into the sphere of divine arbitrariness. Thus Feuerbach says that the mystery of predestination is the mysticism of chance. This religious mystery of chance therefore is incompatible with the scientific nature of chance. To work out the scientific nature of chance and to leave the religious mystery to be the object of psychological analysis implies the sacrifice of the passionate, *i.e.*, divine love of truth to the heart's longing for peace.

The religious-metaphysical problems do not, however, simply resolve themselves into physical problems, and even if this were the case, it would not mean that a comprehensive statement of the problems had been made. It is not possible to maintain that an apparently nonsensical scientific problem is in principle unsolvable. Let us consider, for example, the necessity for astronomy and physics of a definite beginning of the world in time, *i.e.*, of the origin at some definite date of the galaxies of stars. It is impossible to conceive how such an origin could be expressed in perceptual or mathematical terms. What could there have been before the so-called "beginning of the world"? No theory of relativity, no statistics, nothing, absolutely nothing, could make intelligible to us the transition from *potentia* to the *actus*, and that is our only concern here. In fact, it would not even be possible to formulate a philosophical problem, which would enable us to allow for a *suspensio judicii*. Certainly we have much more solid ground under our feet when we discuss the problem of the increasing spatial expansion of the universe, or the end of the world as the result of cooling off, and the loss of energy of the atoms by radiation, but this presupposes nothing less than that we have some opportunity to participate profitably in astronomical and physical research. Consequently, considered from this point of view, inward veracity is a spiritual mood which is able to forego world-embracing systems, but which also makes a point of being as scientifically conscientious as possible. Nevertheless, the probabilities as to what is happening in the firmament, biological possibilities, sociological theories and history give us the possibility to make a speculative characterisa-

tion of the world, which after all, because of this conception, will enable the human character to participate again in what is going on in the universe.

So man's views and notions about truth and reality mature but slowly. They are only to be found in scientific progress, and in them he is aware of unavoidable sources of error and also of the limits that are set to the possibilities of perception. Participation in such research, however, can produce a love of truth of an almost religious fervour, *i.e.*, can produce a frame of mind which will exclude all toleration of what is obviously false and sympathy with what is irresponsibly asserted and which will simply demand that war be declared on what is manifestly untruthful. That would be a good, a really religious war, a sign of mature mind.



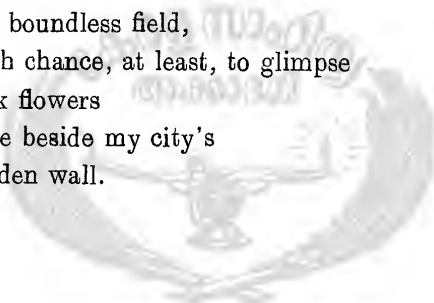
CHERRY BLOSSOMS IN NEW YORK

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

New York.

Today, I have seen the cherry blossoms
In the park,
And in my heart
Have heard once more—
The lark.

To-morrow, when petals are strewn
Over the grass,
The echo of the songs of the bird
Will be one of gratitude
For the privilege
Of viewing once more
The boundless field,
With chance, at least, to glimpse
Pink flowers
Alive beside my city's
Garden wall.



ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND INDIA : CULTURAL RELATIONS*

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, A.M. (BROWN), DR. PHIL. (HAMBURG).

II

THE MITANNI QUESTION AND INDIA.

NOW we enquire about the Mitannians who interest us most on account of their language and religion. The Mitanni country was situated on the upper Euphrates. In 1907 the Orientalist, Hugo Winckler, startled the learned world by deciphering a tablet which contained a treaty drawn in 1360 B.C. between the Kings of Mitanni and the Hettites. In this tablet he discovered the names of four Vedic gods along with ten Babylonian gods. The gods invoked in this tablet are Varuna (u-ru-v-na or a-ru-na). Mitra¹ and the Nasatya twins (na-să-at-ti-i-ia), and Indra (in-da-ra). Thus the gods who were so long considered to be purely Vedic and Indian, are now found to be worshipped in Asia Minor ! Indra is suspected to be the Andira of the Avesta, and though formerly he has been regarded by the Indologists to be peculiarly Indian, yet, later, he has been discovered in the Avesta. Now his international character is revealed by being worshipped in the Mitanni in the same name as in India. Recently another tablet has been discovered at Boghaz-Koei² which dealt with horse-breeding and it contained odd numbers of Aryan numerals. We have already spoken about it. From the reports of the investigators we get the information that the kings of Mitanni had names—Sutarna, Dusratha, Artatama. These are good Aryan names. Further, a class of warriors existed at Mitanni called *Marianna*. It suggests comparison with Sanskrit *marya*, young men, heroes.³

The abovementioned archaeological discoveries have revolutionized the ideas about the Near Eastern peoples of Hettite and Mitanni Kingdoms. But before these far-reaching epoch-making discoveries took place the opinion regarding these languages was different. P. Jensen basing on the then discovered grammar of the Mitanni language called it in 1891 as having distant relationship with Sumerian-Akkadian, and with Elamite-Kussite language groups, as well as with

* Continued from our last issue.

¹ H. Winckler, M. D. O. G., XXXV, p. 51.

² Forrer, Z. D. O. G., LXXVI, pp. 250 ff.

³ Moret, "From Tribe to Empire," p. 241.

Alarodish. He further said, that a relationship with Semitic-Egyptian or Indo-European language groups is unthinkable ¹

Again, F. Bork in 1909-12 speaks of Mitanni having relations with Chaldaean, Hettite and Arzawi.² Further he says, that it is a link in the chain of the North-Caucasian languages ;³ on the other-hand, it shows grammatical and lexical relations with old South-east Caucasian and Elamite languages. Again, the peculiarities of all these groups are to be found in the Mitanni language. But it is neither North-Caucasian nor South-Caucasian language. It is rather a transitional group of independent nature. As regards its relation with Elamite, there are some contact between both the languages.

But we have already seen that the recent opinions of the philologists is that Mitanni is an Indo-European language of the *satam* group. The numerals, the names of the gods and the kings are clearly Aryan, and Childe says that " they are very nearly pure Indic. Certainly they are much more nearly akin to Sanskrit than to any of the Iranian dialects that later constitute the western wing of the Indo-Iranian family."

The Indologist Prof. Noble of the Berlin University once told the present writer that seeing the contexts of the language and its grammatical structure, Mitanni language cannot but be said to be Sanskritic. Again, as Forrer has pointed out, the numerals of Mitanni language as discovered in the abovementioned tablet, shows affinity with post-Vedic Indo-Aryan languages of Prakrit and Pali than to the Sanskrit.

Thus basing our researches on the reports of recent investigations, we arrive at the conclusion that Mitanni is an Aryan language of the Satam branch, and has got affinity with post-Vedic Indo-aryan dialects.

In this investigation of ours we have found an Aryan language and names of kings bearing Aryan names in the Mitanni kingdom. The archaeologists have further found out that the Tell-el-Amarna tablets mention the names of Aryan princes in Syria and Palestine also—Biridaswa of Yenoam, Suwardata of Keilah, Yasdata of Taanach, Artamanya of Zir-Bashen and others.⁵ These personal names sound more Indic than Iranian, the Sanskrit *Aswa* or *Asva* (horse) is discerned in the above name like the name of a king in the Ramayana

¹ F. Jensen, " Vor Studien Zur Entzifferung des Mitanni " in Zeit-schrift fur Assyriologic und verwandte Gebiet, 1891, p. 64.

² F. Bork, " Die Mitanni Sprache " in M. D. V. G., 1909-12, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7, 78.

⁴ G. Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁵ Cambridge Ancient History, II, p. 331.

Yuvanaswa or *Yuvanasva* ; this suffix stands in contrast with the old Persian and Zend *Aspa*, e.g. *Gustaspa*. So the Mitannian and Palestinian *Arta* though having many parallels in the later Iranian onomasticon like the Persian *Astaphernes*. Yet *Arta* as Sanskrit *Rta* was known to the Vedic poets, and such names as *Ṛtuparna* (Persian *Artaphernes* ?) showed it being used as a component of a personal name in ancient India.

Thus, so far can be gleaned about the Mitanni people. When the names of the Mitanni gods were first deciphered, it not only aroused a curiosity in learned circles ; a lively discussion also followed in the trail of the discovery. Herman Jacobi first announced that "these five gods not only occur in the *Rigveda*, but they are grouped together here precisely as we find them grouped in the *Veda*. In my opinion this fact establishes the Vedic character and origin of these Mitanni gods beyond reasonable doubt. It appears therefore quite clearly that in the fourteenth century B.C. and earlier the rulers of Northern Mesopotamia worshipped Vedic gods. The tribes who brought the worship of these gods, probably from Eastern Iran, must have adopted this worship in their original home about the 16th century. At that time, then the Vedic civilization was already in its full perfection. There is doubt as to the nationality of the Kings of Mitanni who worshipped the Vedic gods....In two articles Prof. E. Meyer¹ fully recognizes the Iranic character of these names, and at the same time he is of opinion that the Vedic gods were native gods of the tribe from which the rulers of Mitanni descended....He supposes, therefore, that the tribe was a member of the still undivided Aryan branch of the Indo-Germanic family, and that their gods were Aryan gods....If we assume the 15th century B. C. to be the starting point for the differentiation of the Aryan branch into the Indians and the Iranians, we should be obliged to place the *Rigveda* as it now stands a considerable time after 1000 B.C. I venture to think that few scholars without prejudice, consider the great religious, social and historical changes which happened between the *Rigveda* and the rise of Buddhism, will be prepared to accept so late a date for the *Rigveda*. Therefore, 'since Ed. Meyer's theory leads to consequences inconsistent with the facts of Indian history, must we not reject his theory of the Aryan origin of the Mitanni gods ? And must we not insist that it is highly improbable that the undivided Aryans should have worshipped 6 (*Surias*—sun-god of the Kassites who conquered Babylonia in 1760 B.C.) gods just as they

¹ Ed. Meyer Sitz, K. Preuss. Akad-der Wiss, 1908.

appear in the Rigveda, when the Iranians retain only Mithra as God and entirely changed the character of the remaining ones ?

“How, then, can it be explained that an Iranian tribe worshipped Vedic gods ? I assume that the tribes in question (Kharri ?) came from the east or Iran. There, as we know from Rigveda, Vedic culture once prevailed. And these tribes, being neighbours and perhaps subjects of Vedic tribes who had reached a higher level of civilization, adopted the Vedic gods, and thus brought the Vedic worship with them to their new homes in Mesopotamia. Probably the entrance into India was barred to them¹ because at that time the Vedic people in Western India was at the height of its power, and accordingly they migrated towards the West...I know this is but a guess, but it accounts for the facts better than any other I can guess.”²

In answer to this hypothesis of Jacobi, H. Oldenberg says : “Meyer does not find here Vedic gods but Iranian gods,³ identical with those of the Veda in consequence of the kinship of Indians and Iranians. To me this view seems most probable.” Then he says that, “under the writing of the Zarathustrians we discover the clear traces of a more ancient text which very closely resembles the Vedas. If I am right in this, the question whether these gods that belong to pre-Avestan Iran as well as to Vedic India are more likely to have come to Mitanni from India...or from Iran proper, will, at least with some probability be decided in favour of Iran, if we only look at the top.” Further in a footnote Oldenberg says “By deriving these gods from Iran rather than from India we may possibly account for the absence of Agni.”

Again, J. Kennedy⁴ says : “The Mitanni chiefs preserved traces of a stage somewhat, but not much, earlier than that of the Rigveda. The Aryans of Eastern Iran and Bactria were in this stage when the Mitanni band parted from them some time between 1800 and 1500 B.C. and probably some considerable time after the earlier date.”

Other Indologists entered the lists, and Pargiter⁵ and Sten Konow⁶ who follow Jacobi, definitely accepted the Mitannian gods as Indian and ascribed their introduction in North Mesopotamia to a

¹ Such a thing is possible *vide* the Hymn on “The Battle of ten kings” in Rigveda where it is mentioned Sudas, a king of Central Punjab stopped incoming of five tribes from the Western Frontier.

² H. G. Jacobi, “On the Antiquity of Vedic Culture” in J.R.A.S., July, 1909, pp 721-26.

³ H. Oldenberg, in J.R.A.S., Oct. 1909.

⁴ J. Kennedy, *ibid*.

⁵ Pargiter, “Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.”

⁶ Sten Konow, “The Indian Gods of the Mitanni.” Publications of the Christian Indian Institute, No. 1.

tribe of Sanskrit-speaking people from the Punjab. On the other hand, Hüsing¹ agrees that the dynasts of Mitanni were Indians, but Indians on their way to India, as he opines that the stage of the undivided Indo-Iranian period must be laid north of the Caucasus. On the contrary, Winternitz² says "It is a fact however, that this particular grouping of the gods...can be traced only in the Veda. For this reason I agree with Jacobi, Konow and Hillebrandt in considering these gods to be Indian, Vedic deities and that there is no possible justification for any other view. We shall have to assume that...there must have been isolated migrations back to the West."

Coming to anthropology, we find Haddon saying "The Mitanni, who were probably Armenoids and certainly not 'Aryans,' occupied the country about the Belikh and Khabur tributaries of the Euphrates, but they were dominated by an aristocracy of horse-riding Kharri (? Aryans) who had an Aryan theology, the differentiation however between Indian and Iranian Aryans had not yet taken place, they doubtless came by way of Azerbaizan"³ But Von Luschán sees in the blonde Kurds living on the mountains of the Euphrates valley to be the descendants of the ancient Mitannians who about 2000 B.C. went eastward towards India ! According to him, the blonde Kurds and their probable forbears⁴ the Kharri or the Mitannians were a North-European people nowadays called "Nordic." But the historian H. R. Hall declares the Mitannians to have been Aryans "who must have been of the same stock as the Kassites."⁵ He accepts 1400 B.C. as the period when Mitanni was existing as a Kingdom.⁶ This brings us to the question of the Kassites about whom we have already spoken.

INDO-MITANNIAN QUESTION.

In an ethnical survey of the ancient peoples of the Near East that are mentioned here, it is to be found that besides similarity with language, other ethnical traits as wearing of the pig-tail, and the custom of urn burial and chariot race, and perhaps the fourfold way of life in common with Persia and India as suggested by Ramsay, these peoples had in common with the Aryans of India. Besides these, the Mitannians worshipped the same gods with the Vedic Aryans. Perhaps the Kassites worshipped some gods that were likewise common with

¹ Hüsing, "Volkerschichten in alten Iran in M.A.G.W., XLVI, p. 210.

² Winternitz, "A History of Indian Literature," Vol. I, p. 306.

³ A. C. Haddon, "The Races of Man," p. 102.

⁴ Von Luschán, "Races of Western Asia" in J.R.A.S., XLI, pp. 212-3.

⁵ H. R. Hall, "The Ancient History of the Near East," p. 229.

⁶ *Ibid.*

the Indo-Aryans. All these prove their cognate relationship with the Indo-Aryans. But the Mitanni question is a most striking one as it is most similar with the Indo-Aryans.

In the beginning we have spoken about the Mitanni question. Some see in them an offshoot of the Indo-Aryans ; some see in their gods the representatives of the undivided Indo-Iranian Pantheon, hence the similarity of their names with the Vedic ones ; some see in them Indians in the making, while some anthropologists like Haddon see in them an Armenoid people dominated by an aristocracy having Aryan theology ! Again, other writers like Von Luschan and Childe see in them blonde Nordics on their way to India across the Caucasus.

But most of these hypotheses are built on the supposition that the Indo-Europeans or Aryans had been a Nordic blonde people, hence the branch that settled in India must have crossed the Caucasus, and on their way towards India, founded the Mitanni Kingdom. Hence it seems, they see an Aryan aristocracy ruling over the native Armenoid population. This hypothesis is built on the similarity of the words of the Mitanni language and the gods with the Sanskritic ones. But behind these similarities lies an important hitch. According to Forrer the numerals in their phonetic composition sound like a post-Vedic Sanskritic language like Prakrit than Vedic language.¹

In that case, the speakers of this language must be post-Vedic ones. As the Mitanni numerals are neither pre-Vedic nor Vedic, rather post-Vedic, there may be a possibility that the theses of Jacobi, Pargiter, Sten Konow, Hillebrandt and Winternitz have some substantial values. But those who oppose this view argue that history does not record of any migration from India towards the West. On the other hand, Pargiter relies on ancient Hindu tradition which says that a branch of the Lunar race called the Druhyas went outside India in the land of the " Mlecchas." Regarding this outflow of the Indians, Pargiter says, " Indian tradition suggests a reverse origin for the Iranians which is linguistically tenable, which harmonises with the Boghazkoei treaty, and which can account for their language and religion."² Whether the tradition of the Mahabharata that the Druhya tribe migrated out westward in the land of the Mlecchas be true or not, some European investigators of the nineteenth century brought out startling news about the existence of a Hindu colony in Armenia in Christian period of her history. Thus says Kennedy, " The existence

¹ E. Forrer, "Acht Sprachen der Beghazkoei Inschriften"; Childe, pp. 19-20.

² F. E. Pargiter, "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition," p. 302

of an ancient Indian colony in Armenia is well known to Armenian scholars but Indianists have paid little attention to it. We owe our knowledge of it to Zenob, a Syrian and a native of Glak (klag)...Zenob, was the companion of St. Gregory, the illuminator on an idol-smashing tour through Armenia, about the year 304 A.D. By St. Gregory's command he wrote an account of the expedition to his Cappadocian brethren, and in it he gives a lively account of the illuminator's little war with the Indian idolaters of Tarôn (Darôn). Zenob's history, composed originally in Syriac, has come down to us in an Armenian version." Regarding this history Kennedy further says, "Two Indian Chiefs fled westward with their clans and found shelter with Valarshak or Valarsaces, the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia (149-127 B.C.). Valarsaces gave them the Canton of Tarôn for a residence. In the neighbouring town of Ashtishat the pantheon of all the gods of Armenia, they set up replicas of the idols they had worshipped in India...we hear nothing more of these Indians until St. Gregory appeared with 300 men to overturn their faith. The Indians were overpowered... Zenob gives us various details about these Indians. They were black, ugly, and long-haired. The long hair was a sacred badge...They must have abandoned in great part at least, their native speech since they used proper names like Artzan...They remained a separate people, although their chiefs had become connected in some way, probably by marriage, with the neighbouring chief of Hashtiankh." Finally, Kennedy thinks that "this tribe came from the Indus Valley."¹

This strange history of an Indian settlement in Armenia, seems in many respects to have been a repetition of the Mitanni history. If it has been possible for an Indian tribe to found a colony in Armenia in the second century before Christ, why will it not be possible for an Indian tribe to do the same in still more anterior period when tribes were always in motion.²

Here, the supposed date of the Vedas stand in opposition to this suggestion. According to some older Indologists and some anthropological writers of present day, the date of the Rigveda is fixed somewhere

¹ I. Kennedy, "The Indians in Armenia." J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. 36 : 1-2, 1904.

² The following bibliography on the subject will testify that this fact has been noted by other scholars as well :

1. J. Avadak, J.A.S.B., Vol. V., 1936 p. 331.

2. E. Prudhomme, 'Histoire de Darôn par Zenob de klag' "In Journal Asiatique", 1863, p. 401.

3. V. Langlois, "Collection des Histoires anciens et modernes de l'Arménie," Paris, 1867, tome 1 p. 336.

4. M. J. Sett, "History of the Armenians in India", 1897.

5. Emin, "Recherches Sur le Paganisme Armenien", Paris, 1864, pp. 30-31.

6. Lassen, Z.f.d. Kunde des morgenlandes, Bd. I, p. 233.

between 1200 B.C.-1500 B.C. ; some even go up to 2000 B.C. And the date of appearance of the Indo-Europeans they fix within that date. Hence the appearance of the Mitanni people, at least its ruling class on the upper Euphrates, by 1400 B.C. seems incongruous to them.

But according to Jacobi ¹ the date of the Rigveda would go up even to fourth and according to B. G. Tilak ² it would go up to sixth millennium B.C. Winternitz is right in saying that the date fixed by Max Müller is drawn arbitrarily ; these dates have no data behind them for their assignment. He gives the probable date to be the third millennium B.C.³ By reading the Rigveda one finds the people to be in chalcolithic stage of civilization, and a considerable time has elapsed before transformation of a pastoral tribal society to an agricultural society with rich (Maghavan) and respectable (mahakula) families, hereditary kingship and class (Varna) divisions with capitalist development, and hereditary priesthood could have evolved.⁴ Also, considerable time has elapsed before the reminiscences of the tribal gods as apotheosized great tribal kings or great men have been lost.⁵ The internal evidence of the Rigveda will negative the date arbitrarily fixed by Max Müller and others. Hence, within the span of time going up to 3rd or 4th millennium B.C. the wandering of an Indo-aryan tribe from the Hindukush side is not an impossibility, especially when such a thing has happened in 2nd century B.C. But the proof of the Mitanni question and its connection with the Indo-Aryans lie in further investigations and explorations. Here, we will close our investigation by pointing out the fact that with Anau as the apex and Koban, Kuban on the western side and the Indus Valley in the East, there has been one cultural complex. If " Mahenjo daro and the Indus Valley civilization " has shown cultural connections with Mesopotamia, we have seen, that there have been linguistic and other cultural connections between India and Asia Minor. Hence, it cannot be denied that Indo-Aryan India had relations with Indo-European or Aryan Near East. But the exact nature of this relation is to be further investigated, and it is a great theme for the future which will open a new vista to the scholars.

To be continued.

¹ H. Jacobi, " Über the Erwahnung von Sonnen finisternissen in Rigveda " in Sitzb k.b.g.w. Prague, 1885.

² B. G. Tilak, " The Orion. "

³ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁴ Vide N. G. Bandyopadhyaya, " Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India "

⁵ Vide discussions in Yaska's " Nirukta " and in " Mahabharata " when the Vedic gods are described as deified men (Santiparva, Ch. 208) ; also see discussion about it in Dr. G. S. Basu's " Puran Prabesh " (in Bengali), pp. 13-14.

THE IDEA OF RELIGION

PROF. LEOPOLD VON WIESE

The University, Cologne, Germany.

OVER all individual religions stands the idea of Religion. It is its tenet that human life has not its last significance and meaning in the frame of this visible and transitory world, but that the aim of this earthly existence lies in a destination beyond it, which our intellect cannot grasp. We know nothing seizable about this destination, we rather are dependent on faith, presentiment, and on an only insufficient interpretation. Such defective interpretations are the contents of the individual religions.

Out of the knowledge of such imperfect certainty of these interpretations the doubt arises as to whether the transference of the essence of human life into a metaphysical realm may not be an error originating from feebleness. Since from haughtiness and selfishness we may not be willing to regard a bare earthly and ever imperfect existence as worth living, we may not help inventing an ultramundane significance of being. Therefore not seldom the modern world has a trend to consider as a more dignified conduct to renounce an aim of life which, indeed, may be deeper and nobler than every earthly one but seems to be too improbable and unintelligible. To-day there is a tendency totally to transfer the significance of human existence into the earthly world, indeed, not often into the sphere of the individual man, but mostly into the great social structures, particularly into the nation, the people and the race. It may not be necessary, in order to make the individual more unselfish and high-minded, to transfer the essence of existence into the supernatural world. The great social generation-structures, outlasting millenniums, are so constituted that the faith in them evolves the same ethical power as the religions do. The advantage of such a worldly and political conviction, compared with a metaphysical religion, is its greater clarity. From there a greater veracity may arise.

Indeed, to-day the faith in a supernatural world is not in the same degree superseded by a materialistic individualism (like in the nineteenth century) as by the deification of social institutions. It is

obvious that in this way the individuals are more forced into the service of social tasks and community life than by any other system. The utilization of personal powers for the purposes of the state and the people makes great progress thereby. The disadvantage, however, of this change lies in the fact that all social structures ever remain imperfect and that none can ever engender the sublime power of Divinity. Though we may never totally grasp the whole power of God, we realize that all social institutions, compared with the power of God remain feeble and transitory. Social structures cannot be perfected, when they pass off for last values and last aims, except only when they serve as vessels for God's will and when they enjoin themselves a religious mission which cannot be derived from natural forces, but from the manifestations of Religion.

What concerns the individual in the matter of a purely earthly-social aiming may satisfy the intellect for a short while because of the greater tangibility of the ends. Besides, the depreciation of human personality to a mere mean tool, created for the service of earthly social structures, makes him inwardly poor, narrow and hard. Therefore, also, his social value becomes diminished, and the great social structures, grown to very centres of ethical life, are gradually reduced in efficiency instead of increasing it. Even the advantage of greater clarity proves delusive, because the social structures lose their significance when they become self-sufficient.

We realize that none of these interpretations of life—the religious, the social-earthly and the individualistic-materialistic—can be totally understood in a purely rational manner and that none of the three attempts can be self-sufficient. We are always dependent on faith and presentiments. It is erroneous to think that we shall gain more clarity by transferring the centre of existence into the realm of earthly-social life. We merely become weaker. Vital forces stronger than death are for ever only those of Religion.

A CLARION CALL

(Śṛnvantu viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ).

SRÍSCHANDRA VEDÁNTABHÚSHAN, BHÁGAVATRATNA, B.A.

At dawn of Time, 'neath Heaven's canopy,
Calm reign'd serene in solemn majesty ;
O'er Earth's fair face black Nescience spread her veil ;
Etern'ty spied : up rose from Earth a wail.

* * *

When lo, amid the massive sylvan gloom
That did in muff'd sombre silence loom,
Sequester'd, lone, in holy Hermitage,
In mystic mood sat hoary Orient Sage.

His vision flash'd across the jetty pall,
In ecstasy he cried out, " Hark ! ye all,
Sons of Immortal Love, hark ! I have seen
The Shining One beyond the blinding screen.

Cognizing Him alone, Earth's creeping man
Doth soar in Love and Light, Etern'ty scan,
And o'ercome hatred, sin, and Death's sharp sting,
And reign in Bliss and Joy as Creation's King."

* * *

The shadows lifted. An effulgent Light
Beam'd forth on spellbound Earth, and all was right.
But brute Pride heeded not. And clash of steel
Hath exil'd Love, and stagger'd Earth doth reel.

* * *

Ye noble Sons of Ind, awake, arise,
And hold your own, reflect, and realize
The one exalted mission of your life
That is above all cavil and all strife ;

And preach the Seer's Gospel old sublime,
And spread it far and wide from clime to clime.
And tell all Mother Ind doth droop no more :
She wields the Sceptre as in days of yore.

Ye Winds that hover round Himalayan heights,
Go waft the news abroad in roaring flights ;
And rolling Seas, proclaim from shore to shore
Old Ind shall build her Empire evermore.



NATURE STUDY ITS : PEDAGOGICAL IMPORTANCE

PRAPHULLA KUMAR BOSE

(*Department of Botany, Calcutta University.*)

It is a fact becoming more evident every day that success in any undertaking depends largely on the accuracy of the information that one has on the problem ; it is also recognised all over the world that school education should be broadbased and have a more practical bias. In fact, the aim of such education should be to prepare the student for the general problems which one has to face in his life. It must be calculated to develop the powers of accurate observation, independent thinking and self-reliance. It should increase the physical fitness of the child, aim at the use of the body as an instrument for dealing with physical objects, and develop dexterity in the widest sense of the term.

There are unfortunately two main defects in the mental outlook of the educated classes of our country—the habit of identifying book-learning with knowledge, and negligence in the observation of, and a general indifference to, external nature. Experience in the past has shown that a restricted education in the ordinary school subjects has tended to make the child from a village home not only dissatisfied with country life, but has inculcated in his mind a disinclination to apprentice himself to trades involving a certain amount of manual labour. This, if the influence be not soon corrected, results in an undesirable influx of youths to towns. They seek employment in sedentary occupations. Many authorities claim that one of the chief causes of rural depopulation is that the children are not properly educated to fit them for country life. Besides, there are a number of other circumstances which have caused the child from the village to become estranged from country life. We can try to remedy these trends by broadening the lines of education, and by teaching the child to appreciate the gifts of nature, which form his whole environment.

Education is not a process of pouring information into a receptive mind ; its purpose is to mould the mind so that it can adequately adapt itself to the environment in which it is placed ready at once to spin

gossamer webs and forge iron hammers. Such education, if properly imparted, would lead to a better understanding of the problems which these children will have to face afterwards.

The ordinary child grows up, passes into youth and manhood without any real conception of the wealth of nature. He recognises blades of grass, flowers, plants, trees, their fruits and the birds that nest on them, the brooks that stream out of the village with the strange fish and tortoises that peep out of their watery homes. But he has no idea of the causes of the growth of plants, the functions performed by their various organs, how soils and rocks are formed, nor even of the chemical composition of such an article of everyday use as water. In all probability he has also but little conception of what the atmosphere is made of, and of its importance to animal and plant life. Give the child some insight into these wonders, and his mind will immediately open out to a new world of romance and reality. He will appreciate the wealth of his surroundings and will consequently take a more intelligent interest in his occupation. He will not become imbued with the idea that man lives in the real sense of the term only when he participates in all the gaieties and frivolities associated with modern urban life. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to see that the education of the largest number of children is in conformity with their normal natural surroundings. It is essential for this purpose to introduce courses on Nature Study suitable to country life, in elementary schools with such demonstrations as are possible in different localities.

The object of the nature study course is to interest the children in the plants and animal life round their homesteads and in the adjacent fields ; to teach them the simple facts of nature, such as that the plants resemble living animals, that they feed and breathe in order to grow and multiply their kind. Such a study, carefully conducted, would develop the powers of observation and comparison and lead to independent thought. *Nature study takes things at hand and endeavours to understand them.* It trains the eye and the mind to see and comprehend the common things of life. The result is not directly the acquisition of scientific knowledge, but the establishment of a living sympathy with everything one comes across. The child always loves nature: and if we should have the power and the proper method of interesting the pupil in the study of "NATURE" we would considerably broaden his sympathies, multiply his points of contact with the world and thereby deepen his life.

In this way we should try to introduce the facts and tasks of every day life into the schools. Such a study would inculcate in the boys a spirit of sympathy with the commonplace, develop a sense of dignity of labour and of humble duties. We need not let our work degrade us, no matter how lowly it may be. For instance, when the children have an opportunity to see that the teacher himself is keenly interested in gardening and is not above working in the school garden himself, it will tend to raise their respect for manual labour and for the profession of agriculture and farming, which is, at the present moment, usually thought unworthy of the serious attention of an educated man of our country. Again the school teacher himself will find that the garden brings him into closer touch with his pupils and this will at the same time greatly diminish the general indifference to external nature.

The task of gardening involves (a) certain manual operations such as digging and preparing the ground, making beds for seeds etc.; (b) observation of proper spacing of plants, construction of hedges, their symmetry or otherwise; (c) perception of the growth of plants, the shape of leaves, etc. These sensory and motor operations involve a certain emotional relation with the task of gardening. Hence the pupil is brought in close touch firstly with motor, secondly sensory and finally emotive relation with the environment. Thus the agricultural or horticultural factor becomes the ruling idea in the mind of the child. This is evidenced by the prevalence of agricultural metaphors and allusions in peasants' songs and poetry of all countries.

It is also very well known that nothing binds people more closely together than co-operative physical activity directed to a common purpose. The secret of the solidarity of group-life from the elementary to the complex lies in this fact. The loyalty to the school and the college, found so often in the British and American schools, is to be sought in the team-spirit on the play-ground. *Nature Study* is calculated to induce team-spirit, probably less spectacular, directed to a quieter environment. The object and the result are likely to be the same—a greater group-spirit among the students and a greater sense of loyalty to the school. These are the goals that all educational institutions should cherish and strive to attain.

Thus we find that *Nature Study* is likely to serve two main purposes of education in the present stage of our social history. In the first place, it lures the growing mind back to living nature which

whispers its secrets only to those who seek it in a spirit of friendly solicitation. The social trend that has weaned the spirit of the race from its age-old love for its fields and pastures, its village streams and shady groves, its spreading *peepul* trees and flowery creepers, must be called back to its traditional and normal habitat. This should not be regarded as a prosaic task of horticultural training but as the *mantra* that calls the slumbering sympathy with nature which is the historic possession of our race, to life. Secondly, the motor, sensory and emotive relation with the land makes the intellect specially oriented to the agricultural processes. Just as the musician learns to discriminate the tones and cadences of music, the mind oriented to agriculture finds more meaning in the processes of Nature than we ordinarily find.

There is a perpetual process of give and take between the living organism and the nature that nourishes it. The biologist discusses this type of interaction in the science called *Ecology*. We must interpret the ecological relations in a broader spirit. The ecological relation obtains not only with the living body and the nature but also with the mind. Nature study completes this process of give and take between the whole of human personality and the environment in which man lives. In this manner, it restores the relation between man's total life and nature. It re-establishes the ecological balance which the modern trends of urban life ruthlessly break up.

It is important, however, to consider in this connection at what stage of our educational curriculum we can best introduce a course on *Nature Study*. Obviously this can be done either in the upper classes of primary schools or in the lower classes of secondary schools. To achieve any success in this direction steps should be taken in the first instance to provide suitable teachers for such schools, as there is the obvious necessity that the teachers themselves shall have to become proficient in such teaching. Arrangements should be made, as circumstances permit, for short courses on "Nature Study" for the teachers themselves, such course being calculated to equip the teacher for this work. Residence in an agricultural farm for a period and a short vacation course at one of the Experimental Stations and at other biological institutions will have the advantage of acquainting the teacher having greater power of, and adaptability in, interesting the pupil in their studies. Then again, education in the lower schools should be so remodelled as to develop the natural instinct of the child

and should, therefore, be of such a practical character as to fit the pupils for technical pursuits, including agriculture, as well as for literary and commercial pursuits. Text-books should be written in a manner so as to deal with familiar subjects in simple language and object lessons should be freely used in these. The general tendency to write books on scientific treatise in a technical style must necessarily be abandoned as these smack only of the lecture room and the library rather than of the Soil and other products of Nature ;—these become more scholarly than practical. A spirit of directness and simplicity should dominate such literature and they should discuss only common things in a plain way in order to present science in a simple and practical way.

The present state of primary schools in villages is not very satisfactory and therefore requires thorough overhauling and re-orientation. Until this is done and the quality of teachers improved, one cannot even think of introducing Nature Study in these. The secondary schools are a little better staffed and the number of pupils in these is comparatively smaller. It is, therefore, possible to introduce *Nature Study* as a subject in the secondary schools in this province, as soon as a sufficient number of teachers could be trained for the purpose. Fortunately the authorities of the Calcutta University have already made some provision for teachers in secondary schools to undergo a short course of training in the general principles of biological and other scientific subjects so that they could impart elementary scientific knowledge to their students. This is a step in the right direction.

It is true that the problem discussed above is not a simple one, nor does it admit of an easy solution. But I firmly believe that a good deal can be done towards solving this problem if only we should be able to hold up the high ideals of thoroughness, system and order in our curriculum of teaching. It is, therefore, most desirable that the authorities who are responsible for the educational policy of our country should be thoroughly alive to the importance of a wise system of education in a country whose sole destiny rests largely in the hands of the cultivators. But the solution of such a national problem does not depend wholly—or even mainly—on what the Government or the Universities alone can do ; it depends far more upon what by organized voluntary co-operation the people can do for themselves. Let us hope that the subject will draw the serious attention of those who have the welfare of the country at heart.

AGRICULTURAL CLASSES IN HIGH ENGLISH AND MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

Calcutta University.

THE aim of the well-known Punjab scheme is not to give a vocational training in agriculture but to predispose the students, specially those belonging to the agricultural classes, to their hereditary occupation, to make them realise that agriculture is an honourable profession and that education and skill are essential for success in it. It was expected that after finishing his four years' course, the student would go back to the land with a wider outlook and would use his knowledge to tackle the problems which must arise in the course of his daily work.

So far as the curriculum for these schools is concerned, it has been drawn up primarily for the benefit of those who would take to farming after leaving the Middle Vernacular school. At the same time it was felt that it should not be such as to handicap the students if they desired to adopt some other profession or to proceed to English schools.

There are eight classes in the full vernacular school in the Punjab, of which the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th are the Middle classes, the students taking the Vernacular Final Examination after finishing the 8th Class. Agriculture is taught as an optional subject in the four middle classes and has replaced Persian which has not been popular in that province. Students are taught agriculture four periods a week in the 5th and 6th Classes and six periods a week in the 7th and 8th Classes. Much time is also spent outside school hours in practical work, the amount of extra time put in depending on the enthusiasm of the individual students.

The Punjab scheme was implemented without any important modifications in the U. P. One of the recommendations was that agriculture should be introduced as a compulsory subject in the selected vernacular schools which, in the first instance, should be "those which are situated in tracts which are largely cultivated or in which there is a large ratio of occupancy tenants."

One of the resolutions accepted at the Agricultural Education Conference held in Calcutta on the 11th December, 1924, was as

follows:—"That it is desired to reconsider the present curricula of country schools above the primary standard in Bengal so as to introduce the experiment of teaching elementary agriculture combined with practical work in the field." Accordingly the Punjab scheme with certain necessary modifications was sanctioned in 1927 and introduced in this province in 1930. It was stated by the Bengal Education Department that while it was not intended to give those students who would undergo this special kind of instruction a vocational training in agriculture, it was expected that they would be led to appreciate the importance of agriculture in their economic life. It was also anticipated that the rush to colleges among those who do not possess the necessary aptitude for higher education would be checked and thus the problem of unemployment would be rendered less acute and that those educated to the Middle English standard would not feel much hesitation in adopting agriculture, the hereditary occupation of many of them. While the students of these schools would not be carefully trained agriculturists, it was hoped that as the result of this training, some of them would not only go back to the land but, what is more, they would be in a position to utilise the knowledge they had gained to solve those agricultural problems they would have to face in the course of their life as farmers. Let us try to find out to what extent these expectations have been realised.

The scheme referred to above provided for the training of 60 teachers in batches of 15 each year recruited both from High English and Middle English schools. A special class was opened for this purpose at the Dacca Government Farm in 1928. The training of the last batch was finished in January, 1933. Those trained teachers, who are engaged in teaching agriculture and are recommended by the Director of Agriculture, get a special monthly allowance of Rs. 10.

Government makes an equipment grant of Rs. 550 to a school for a garden measuring half an acre, and of Rs. 2,000 for a farm measuring 5 acres. Schools which incur a loss on account of the working of their farms and gardens are given grants the maximum being Rs. 100 for a farm and Rs. 20 for a garden. These grants are made only on the recommendation of the Director of Agriculture.

As Middle Vernacular schools are tending to disappear in our province, the experiment is being tried in Middle English and High

English schools. Roughly about 80 per cent. of the former and 66 per cent. of the latter are situated in rural areas. In the selected schools, agriculture is taught for four years from Classes V to VII of High English schools and in Middle English schools from Classes V and VI with a two years' extension course. The arrangement is to teach the full High English curriculum in the extension classes of the Middle English schools, and at the same time, to give the students an agricultural training. Provision has been made to give special financial assistance to 16 selected Middle English schools, to enable them to be developed into a special type of agricultural educational institutions, the essential condition being that they would never be converted into High English schools. The estimated cost of the scheme was Rs. 19,650 non-recurring, and Rs. 27,040 recurring.

In the three or four Middle English Continuation Class schools the writer visited, he found that the authorities had, as the result of starting these classes, to engage three extra teachers to take charge of these classes. The Government grant referred to above covered the salaries of two of them, while the salary of the third teacher was expected to be met from the special fees realised from the students studying in the Continuation classes. But as the number of such students is always small, at least the number was small in the institutions visited by the writer, and moreover as very few of the students pay full fees, the other resources of the school have to be laid under contribution to meet that part of the salary of the third teacher which is not covered by the fees received from students of the Continuation classes. The necessity of employing the third teacher is due to the fact that in the ordinary agricultural bias Middle English school, the teacher of agriculture has to give 8 periods per week to this subject whereas in the Continuation Class Middle English school, he gives 20 periods to agriculture besides supervising the practical work of the students. His services therefore cannot be utilised for teaching any other subject and a third teacher has thus to be engaged for this work.

In those High English schools where agriculture is taught in our classes, *viz.*, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, the teacher of agriculture has to teach his subject for 20 periods per week and also to supervise the field work of his students. He is therefore unable to do any other work. Government, however, does not give any grant, It seems only

just that these schools should get a grant sufficient to meet the salary of the teacher of agriculture. The writer has visited very few High English schools with agricultural classes attached to them. He found that all those he visited had gardens and not farms. All the plots seemed badly kept and the general condition rather unsatisfactory. The students of agriculture did not get a sufficient number of periods and a sufficient amount of practical instruction probably because the teacher of agriculture had to teach other subjects as well and was therefore unable to devote himself exclusively to his special subject. In order to improve the quality of the teaching in these schools, Government will have to make grants for meeting the salary of the teacher of agriculture.

The teacher of agriculture has been given a trial since 1930, and the time has now come when it is possible to judge whether the system is worth continuing. Looking into records we find that in 1934 when the last batch of teachers had been working for one year, instead of 60, there were 56 such schools with 3,003 boys undergoing instruction in agriculture. Of these 26 were Middle English and 30 High English schools. Only 15 out of these 26 Middle English schools had Continuation classes. The total area of school gardens and school farms measured 219.4 acres. It has been stated authoritatively that in about 25 per cent. of these schools, that is to say in 14 of them, work was being done "very satisfactorily," in about 50 per cent. of these, that is to say in 28 of them work was being conducted "satisfactorily" while the work of 25 per cent., that is to say in 14 of these was not all satisfactory.

In 1935 there were 51 schools of which 25 were High English and 26 Middle English schools. 16 out of these 26 Middle English schools were maintaining two Continuation and 2 one Continuation class. The total number of students of agriculture in these schools was 3,084 while the total area of school gardens and farms was 216 acres. According to the report of the Director of Agriculture, in 16 of these schools the progress was "excellent," in 13 it was "good" whilst in the remaining 22 it is described as "fair or indifferent."

In 1936 the number of schools had gone down to 49 with 3,043 students undergoing instruction in the theory and practice of agriculture. The total area of school farms and gardens had shrunk to 141.68 acres. It has been said that only in about half a dozen

instances were the school gardens and farms worked at a profit. No authoritative statement is available as to the standard of efficiency attained by the different schools.

The following facts, however, may be inferred from what has been stated above and from departmental reports published from time to time both by the Director of Agriculture and the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

Government has been compelled in some cases to stop its special grants as the Middle English schools which had given an undertaking to specialise in the teaching of agriculture were changed into High English schools.

Some of the schools enjoying the special facilities referred to above had to be replaced by others as they were unable to show satisfactory progress within a reasonable time. For this the responsibility must lie either with the authorities or the teachers or with both.

The writer has visited some of these special schools and the impression he has gathered about them from what he has seen is that the authorities of many of these institutions lack initiative as they prefer school gardens to school farms though by operating the latter they could obtain a grant which is about four times the grant allotted to school gardens. It has seemed to him as though both they and perhaps the guardians prefer what may be called playing at agriculture in the shape of gardening regarded perhaps as a gentlemanly occupation rather than actually getting down to the soil in the way the ordinary cultivator does. This is also proved by the fact that some of the school gardens and farms are badly kept. As all the schools have not been visited by the writer, what has been stated above cannot with justice be said to apply to all schools of this type.

The writer has also observed that in at least some of the schools he has visited, attendance at the agricultural classes is not very satisfactory. This is specially true of practical field work. It was urged that it is difficult to induce the students to do field work after school hours which again proves his contention that many among us whether authorities, teachers or students, are not taking up the subject seriously but are merely playing at it. He has, however, heard of one school, which he has not as yet visited, where classes are held almost all through the year in the morning, the hard manual work in the fields being done in the afternoon. This was done after obtaining the formal sanction of the Divisional Inspector of Schools.

This practice may easily be extended to other schools of the same type.

Another difficulty which has all along stood in the way of the successful working of this scheme is that no work is done in the garden or farm during the holidays which often coincide with a time when labour in the fields is absolutely essential. Seeing that these are schools of a special type, it would be easy to have the holidays at times comparatively unimportant agriculturally. All educational institutions in the hills follow a somewhat similar plan by having a very long winter vacation and practically no summer or autumn vacation. At the Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur, there is a similar adjustment of holidays. All that would be necessary to change the system now in force would be to secure the permission of the Education Department which, in view of these special circumstances, should not be a difficult matter.

Some of these schools voluntarily gave up the grants either because they could not afford to engage the services of specially trained teachers of agriculture or because the services of such teachers were not available. On account of the financial depression, in many cases parents and guardians have been unable to pay the fees regularly with the consequence that the school authorities were unable to keep on their staff the specially trained teacher. In other cases, heavy cuts had to be made in the salaries of all teachers, the result being that in some instances teachers with special agricultural training to their credit transferred their services to institutions better off financially. This they could do easily as primarily they are teachers of school subjects with agriculture as the second string to their bow. It is even stated that some of these schools were without their agricultural teachers for a considerable portion of the year.

According to the Government communication, dated the 19th December 1927, the scheme provided for training 15 teachers annually from January 1928. Of these 10 were to be deputed from Middle English and 5 from High English schools. One would naturally expect that these teachers after finishing their training would join their schools, to do which would also be to their interest as they would draw an allowance of Rs. 10 per month for teaching the agricultural classes. Another inference one would be tempted to draw would be that of the schools having agricultural classes not less than 60 to 66 per cent. would be of the Middle English and 34 to 40 per cent,

of the High English type. What we actually find is that the High English schools with agricultural classes are tending to grow in number at the expense of Middle English schools of a similar type. This undoubtedly proves that both students and their guardians attach more importance and value to High English than to Middle English education, and also perhaps that instruction in agriculture which is studied as an optional subject is not given the weight to which it is entitled in view of its importance in our economic life.

According to a recent official report issued by the Punjab Government, the children after finishing their course at these Middle Vernacular schools are quite capable of intelligently understanding and solving the agricultural problems they have to meet in their fields. The writer has very serious doubts as to whether a similar claim can be made with justice with regard to either the two-year trained students of the Middle English school, or even of the four-year trained students of the special Continuation class Middle English or High English school. Admitting that our curriculum is practical in its nature, our students do not appear to have been trained in a sufficiently practical way. The aim of neither the Punjab nor the Bengal scheme is to give vocational training in agriculture. Still the Punjab is turning out useful agriculturists while we are unable to either make them enthusiasts in Nature study or serious students of agriculture. Surely something is radically wrong and it behoves us to make an attempt to set it right without further delay.

There is not much doubt that in spite of the popular vehement protestations in favour of agriculture and the rural life, the majority have only a theoretical liking for it. The lure of profitable sedentary occupations is still very strong. Only economic reasons will drive us back to the land for our living, always provided that by that time we have not grown quite unfit for the hard work demanded to wrest one's living from the soil. We should be thankful for the work already done in improving seeds, agricultural implements, etc., matters which the writer has discussed elsewhere. The scheme under consideration, whatever the criticisms that may be urged against it, is an instance of the desire of Government to develop yet another way of earning a decent livelihood.

A serious defect of the scheme as it is in operation at present is that some schools have been equipped with half-acre gardens and others with five-acre farms. The effects of the financial stringency

felt in other departments have been responsible for unsatisfactory arrangements here also. The writer recognises the very important fact that the capital grant made by Government for one school farm is almost sufficient to equip four schools with gardens and further that the annual grant intended to meet the loss incurred for working a school farm is enough to meet the deficit for five school gardens. The real question is whether it is wiser to subsidise institutions which are not meeting fully the requirements of the province or whether it is better to have fewer properly equipped and financed institutions which are calculated to meet our needs.

If the students of these special institutions are, in the language of the resolution quoted already, to be taught "elementary agriculture combined with practical work in the field," it can be done only in a farm of some size equipped with bullocks, ploughs and improved agricultural implements. In our province, knowledge of and instruction in animal husbandry are conspicuous by their absence. Then again it is only in a farm that all the boys can have individual plots on which to grow different crops in the different seasons of the year besides a general plot for all the students where, as they work, they learn the growing of crops on something near the scale which they will have to adopt if they take to agriculture as a profession.

So far as school gardens are concerned, the most important thing which may be said in their favour is that both the capital and the recurring expenditure to be incurred for maintaining them are very much lower. The strongest argument against them is the limited scope they offer for imparting an all-round agricultural training to the students. Vegetables and flowers may be grown in them and perhaps grown both satisfactorily and profitably. But the farmer of the future is not likely to depend on them exclusively to earn a decent living. In the farm, the students enjoy opportunities of growing fodder grasses, making silage and artificial manure—things which cannot be done on a comparatively extensive scale in the school garden. The storing of farm yard manure in properly protected pits etc., also fall under the same category.

It has been observed more than once that the student almost always shows a marked disinclination for manual work which is perhaps subconsciously regarded as degrading. Digging and hoeing sowing and harvesting as conducted in the school garden are not calculated to be as effective in changing this attitude towards hard

physical toil as actual ploughing, laddering, etc., which can be done in a farm equipped with bullocks, ploughs, etc. At the same time, it has to be admitted that if expenditure stands in the way of a quick expansion of this system, the institutions may, in the first instance, be provided with gardens and, later on, if their work is found to be satisfactory, they may be encouraged to develop their gardens into farms. In the District Board Agricultural schools in the Punjab, preference was at first given to the school garden probably because it was felt that the obligation to meet deficits during the experimental stage would not be very heavy. The writer, however, is strongly of opinion that the better way is to select good schools which really aim at the imparting of agricultural knowledge to their students, to provide them with the right type of teachers and to equip them with farms. In this way the benefits accruing from the system would be apparent more quickly than by adopting the policy of the gradual development of the school garden into the school farm.

So far as the type of agricultural teachers trained under the scheme referred to above is concerned, we should remember that primarily they are teachers of subjects included in the ordinary curriculum that is to say they are teachers of subjects like English, Bengali, Mathematics, History, Geography and so forth. It is, therefore, natural that they should concentrate on the teaching of these subjects and also that their efforts, whatever their value, will be ordinarily directed to acquiring proficiency and skill in teaching these subjects. There is also the very important contingency that in the eyes of the authorities of the educational institutions they serve, their value as teachers will be assessed by their success in teaching these non-agricultural subjects. The natural consequence of this state of things is that higher importance is attached to their success as teachers of ordinary subjects rather than to their success as teachers of agriculture. All these facts tend to lower the prestige of agriculture both before students and the public as compared with the ordinary school subjects. It follows therefore that both the teaching as well as the learning of agriculture suffer by contrast. The writer has been informed by a very highly placed officer of the Education Department that many of the teachers have taken the special agricultural course at the Dacca Farm not so much because they have a taste for either learning or teaching agriculture as because they are desirous of enjoying the extra allowance of Rs. 10 per month which is drawn by them

from the Government grant for teaching agriculture in this special type of schools. It goes without saying that one cannot expect that the teaching of agriculture will be attended with that enthusiasm and efficiency which are necessary for the success of this scheme so long as it is conducted by people whose principal inducement is such a small pecuniary reward. For attaining this much-needed improvement, we have to select teachers who have a real taste for agriculture and who will take up its teaching because they love it. There does not appear to be much chance for the success of this scheme till these special schools are manned by teachers of the above type.

Then again to make the scheme successful, we require a sufficient supply of trained teachers. The scheme provided for 60 teachers for 60 schools. It is not therefore possible to fill up vacancies caused by death, resignation or transfer. As stated above, some of these trained teachers are teaching in schools without any agricultural classes to which they have transferred their services on account of better pay and prospects. In a number of cases, the vacancies referred to above have been filled up by passed students of the Dacca Secondary Agricultural School. It is reported that these have all proved their worth as practical instructors. It has, however, to be admitted that as their *flair* is for practical agriculture only, which is what one expects in students of agriculture, and lacking as they do in practical experience of teaching, they have not proved equally satisfactory as teachers of ordinary school subjects. It is therefore felt that in case this scheme continues to be in operation, arrangements should be made so that some more men should undergo instruction in the Dacca Agricultural School in order to have a constant but moderate supply of teachers of agriculture who, at the same time, are qualified to be teachers of Middle English and High English schools.

The writer however, is confident that the measure of success attained would be greater if the claims of agriculture both theoretical and practical, as a subject of the school curriculum, obtains more generous support and if, for this purpose, teachers of the above type especially fitted for this work both by their personal inclinations and their training are employed in these special schools. So far as the remuneration paid to them is concerned, they should enjoy the same grade and salary as the teachers of ordinary school subjects. The public as well as the students must be made to realise that the position and status of the teacher of agriculture are in no way inferior

to the position and status of the teachers of other subjects. It may be that to do this, Government will have to allot more liberal grants and no hesitation should be felt in finding money for the purpose. The teaching of agriculture is such an important matter in a country preponderatingly agricultural, that no money spent for this purpose can be regarded as wasted.

At present the scheme is in operation in both Middle English and High English schools, probably because Government desires to ascertain which of the type of schools would be more suitable. The writer has visited some of these schools and talked with their teachers and students and has also met the local public. The impression he has gathered leads him to think that it is not always possible to frame the time-table in such a way in High English schools as to give the required number of periods to agriculture. As matters stand at present, the ultimate aim of every student of our High English schools is to pass the Matriculation examination and then to proceed to higher studies. Of course this aim is realised in only a few cases but, as we all know, the efforts of both students and their guardians are all directed towards the attainment of this object. On the whole the writer believes that if agriculture has to be taught for the purpose of equipping the students for it as their profession, it would be better to confine its teaching exclusively to the Middle English schools and to make its study compulsory. To have it in High English schools for this purpose would be to place divided aims before the students. Neither they nor their parents will be able to decide what they should do, and the consequence may be an aimless drifting from one to another subject, the chances being that they will fall victims to the claims of a purely literary, but economically valueless education. On the other hand, if the object is the creation of an agricultural outlook, the classes may be attached to the Middle English and High English schools. Better arrangements in the different directions mentioned above will have to be made if the scheme is to attain an even moderate measure of success.

According to the original plan, the above scheme should have been re-considered in the light of experience after it had been in operation for seven years. It should therefore have been taken up in 1936. The public has not been informed as to what has been done to give effect to this matter. It was at that time assumed that not less than 50 per cent. of the Middle English students who had

studied agriculture would not go up for higher education. No official information is available as to the number who received agricultural training for full four years in Middle English schools from 1930 to 1936, the number who have and the number who have not gone up for higher education and, most interesting of all, the number who after this four years' training have adopted agriculture as their profession. The writer has made enquiries in various quarters. He does not pretend that the information he has is either accurate or that it covers all the schools which have worked under this scheme during the period 1930-36. But the general conclusion arrived at as the result of his enquiries is that judged from the purely practical point of view and regarded as a means of popularising agriculture as a profession, the scheme has proved an absolute failure. It is time that Government redeemed its pledge to review the scheme in order to give it a more practical shape. The Committee appointed to consider the scheme should consist of a non-official independent majority drawn from all communities—men who take a vital interest in the agricultural prosperity of our province and not of figure-heads who will not be inclined to advocate a bold, forward programme. This should not be made a party question or else the work will not be done satisfactorily and to the ultimate benefit of our country.

Perhaps the reader may not agree with the writer's views regarding the practical utility of the kind of agricultural training now imparted in the Middle English and High English schools where in his opinion it has not achieved any measurable degree of success. Its utility, if, any lies in the useful work it might do by calling forth the liking for an agricultural life which might otherwise lie dormant or unsuspected in the students. So far as facts go, the writer is extremely doubtful as to whether hitherto it has had this effect to any appreciable extent. In the final analysis, agricultural training of the existing type is only an alternative to outdoor games and is useful as it tends to keep the student out of doors and provides him with a healthy occupation. In the writer's opinion, it would, under the existing scheme, be more than sufficient if the students of agriculture in these institutions learn enough to beautify their surroundings by the cultivation of flowers and it would add much to the attractiveness of these schools if the boys were taught how to grow country vegetables for their own use. He is, however, compelled to state that not even

this is learnt by the students as a class. They only play at agriculture. Very few of them are really willing to do the hard physical work inseparable from agricultural operations. To be absolutely frank, it seems to the writer that as yet we have not been able to develop an agricultural mind, that as a nation we take interest in agriculture in only an extremely amateurish way.



INDO-BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS

HON. MR. NALINI RANJAN SARKER.

THE EFFECTS OF THE OTTAWA TRADE AGREEMENT.

THE Trade Agreements concluded at Ottawa in 1932 between India and the United Kingdom and several British colonies have been given a trial for more than four years. The time has now arrived when an intelligent and critical survey of the results should be undertaken in order to determine whether it is at all desirable to conclude a new agreement with the U. K. to replace the old one and if so, how the new agreement should be shaped in the light of the results obtained. The success or otherwise of the agreement can be best evaluated with reference to certain tests relating to India's trade. The following are some relevant tests which, for the sake of convenience, if not of accuracy, may be laid down in this connection:—

- (i) whether India's export trade has registered a definite expansion without entailing any undesirable diversion of trade which is likely to react unfavourably in the long run ;
- (ii) whether as a result of the Agreement India's non-British customers have definitely reduced their offtake of Indian goods by raising tariff walls or other trade barriers ;
- (iii) whether India's favourable trade balance has positively increased to the extent of her requirements in connexion with her annual payments against her foreign obligations ;
- (iv) whether the terms of the Agreement are such as to leave little or no scope for India to extend to non-British countries any preferential treatment so as to promote better trade relations with those countries.

Before proceeding to apply these tests to the results and judge the success or otherwise of the Agreement, we may summarise the working of the Agreement. During the four years 1932-33 to 1935-36 India's total annual merchandise exports to the U. K. increased with

some fluctuations, from Rs. 37 to Rs. 50 crores, while the offtake by other foreign countries advanced from Rs. 96 crores to Rs. 105 crores during the same period. In preferred goods, the share of the U. K. moved from Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 37 crores, while the share of foreign countries registered a graduated decline from Rs. 65 crores in 1932-33 to Rs. 58 crores in 1934-35. In non-preferred goods, on the other hand, the British share moved from Rs. 10 crores in 1931-32 to Rs. 11 crores in 1934-35, while the offtake of foreign countries registered an advance from Rs. 37 crores to Rs. 47 crores during the same period. From these figures, two conclusions can be drawn: firstly, that India's export trade with the U. K. has definitely expanded, and secondly, that some diversion of trade in the preferred articles from other foreign countries to the U. K. has taken place. As to the first inference, we should guard ourselves against the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. For the improvement in the export has been no more than would be natural to expect during a phase of economic recovery when both the demand for raw materials and their prices show an upward trend. Besides, the fact that tea alone accounts for about 5 crores of the total increase, although the volume of tea exported to the U. K. declined over the same period, should be taken account of. As to the second inference that diversion of trade has taken place, it should be evident from the figures that while during the period from 1932-33 to 1934-35, India's exports to the U. K. rose both in the preferred and non-preferred groups, her exports to other foreign countries increased appreciably in the case of the non-preferred articles but declined heavily in the case of preferred articles.

We may also examine the trend of trade with regard to some important articles of India's exports in order to clarify the position better.

1. *Tea*.—Its inclusion in the list of preferred articles helped to swell the value of trade in this category to a respectable total, the share of tea in the increase being equal to that of all other articles combined. The operation of the preference on tea synchronised with other important factors such as the depreciation of the rupee in terms of the Dutch currency and the Tea Restriction Scheme. Against the improvement in her position in the British market is to be set a slight deterioration in other countries.

2. *Manufactured Jute*.—India improved her position in the United Kingdom while other countries lost their position in the British

market almost completely. On the other hand, India lost ground in other foreign countries such as Germany, U.S.A., and Argentine, mainly owing to the competition of European countries which were ousted from the British market.

3. *Lac*.—Here the total consumption of the U. K. showed a precipitous fall in 1935 with a corresponding decline in India's exports to that country.

4. *Linseed*.—Nature rather than tariff preference helped India during 1933-34 and 1934-35. Owing to smaller production the export of linseed from Argentine fell heavily. Argentine has since again increased her exports while those from India have declined.

5. *Coffee*.—Owing to the severe competition from Costa Rica and to some extent also from Kenya India's position did not improve.

6. *Hides and skins, oil-seeds, oil-cakes, teak and other hard wood, pig lead, groundnuts, woollen carpets and rugs*.—India's exports to the U. K. increased in respect of all these commodities.

India's import trade statistics show definite improvement in the relative position of the U. K. Although other factors, *e.g.*, the depreciation of the sterling, particularly in the initial stages, helped England, there cannot be any doubt that a large part of the improvement was due to the tariff preferences granted by India. While the U. K.'s share in India's import trade expanded from 36·8% in 1932-33 to 40·6% in 1934-35, the share of other foreign countries declined from 55·4% to 50·6% during the same period.

We thus find that India's exports to the U. K. have advanced by a few crores of rupees. The larger part of this improvement has no doubt been due to a rise in the price of India's exports and to an increased demand for India's raw materials resulting from the economic recovery in the United Kingdom.

By itself the improvement does not amount to a conclusive proof of the advantages obtained by India from the Agreement. Further, against this improvement should be set some loss in the exports of "preferred" articles to other foreign countries. It is, therefore, not the magnitude but the paucity of the results achieved which strikes one most.

It has been suggested with regard to the articles in which exports to the U. K. have either remained stationary or have decreased only slightly that in the absence of the Agreement India's position would have been worse so that the Agreement might be said to have had

at least an "insurance value." It is very difficult to prove or disprove such a thesis. Attention may, however, be drawn to certain pertinent general considerations in this connection. In the absence of any direct or indirect tariff discrimination against Indian goods in the U. K. which, for reasons to be explained shortly, was never a serious possibility, there is little reason to assume that India's position relative to that of other countries in the British market would have been worse but for the Agreement. It follows that the Agreement could be said to have an insurance value only where U. K.'s stationary or even decreasing imports have been accompanied by an increase in India's percentage share of the total British imports or, in other words, by an improvement in her position relative to that of other countries. But such cases are few and of comparatively little significance and then, to some extent, even this relative improvement in India's position may have been due to a relative deterioration of her position in foreign markets. Judged by this standard it would seem reasonable to conclude that the insurance value of the Agreement was not very considerable.

On the contrary one could say with much greater reason that the Agreement had a definite insurance value for England in the Indian market. During the years of the depression the competition in the Indian market for manufactured goods has been particularly keen so that in the absence of the preference it would have been very difficult for Britain to maintain her position. The official reports rightly emphasised that "the imports from the U. K. would normally suffer more than the cheaper imports from other countries. This disadvantage to U. K. would have been much greater had it not been for the preference which enabled the U. K. to compete on more favourable terms with the cheap imports from the other countries."

From the above analysis it should be clear that applying the first two tests, the following conclusions can be drawn.

(a) The agreement has resulted in some expansion of India's export trade with the U. K. but not to the extent anticipated.

(b) The expansion of India's exports to the U. K. involved some diversion of trade from other countries to the U. K.

(c) As the import statistics signify, in many directions India seems to have given much more than she received, specially in view of the fact that the Agreement in its present form has seriously affected India's trade with other foreign countries.

It may be noted in this connexion that the fact that India's exports to certain foreign countries were checked by tariffs and other trade barriers was the outcome of the preferential treatment given to British imports in the Indian market as against imports from other non-British sources. In other words, the preferential treatment to British imports worked indirectly against India's exports in other foreign markets. The trends of economic policies in many countries, especially in the continental countries, are gradually shaping themselves as a definite step against countries with which no trade agreements have been arranged by them and this situation has naturally been acting to the prejudice of India's trade.

II. INDIA'S FISCAL AUTONOMY

Another vital consideration which must not be lost sight of in negotiating a trade agreement with the U. K. is the need for safeguarding India's fiscal autonomy convention. One of the main reasons why the Fiscal Commission decided to give its verdict against a general adoption of Imperial Preference was the apprehension that it would affect India's fiscal autonomy. Fiscal autonomy is as valuable and essential to a nation's life as political freedom and India has ample experience of the consequences of the lack of both. Since the Fiscal Commission reported, experience has proved that the general apprehension of Indians with regard to a policy of Imperial Preference was not unfounded. If discriminating protection has become the first leading principle of India's fiscal policy, it is now being attempted to make Imperial Preference the second one. The Indo-British Trade Agreement of January, 1935, which was supposed to be "supplementary" to the Ottawa Trade Agreement, marked a very important step in that direction. The right conceded to the British industries, of stating their case before the Tariff Board and answering the cases presented by other interested parties may, on the face of it, look quite fair in principle. Indeed Canada has also accorded the same right to British industrialists. But the difference in the case of India arises from the fact that the Government of India, as past experience has frequently shown, is more amenable to pressure when brought to bear by British industrial interests. This danger is all the greater, because the difference between the costs of production at home and abroad can at best be ascertained only very roughly, so that in determining the

actual rate of protection it is bound to play a large part. That the Tariff Board in its recent enquiry on the required level of protection against British cotton textiles should come to the conclusion that India required not 25 per cent. but only 20 per cent. duties, that is to say, exactly the same rate which was contemplated in the Mody-Lees Agreement gives rise to the suspicion that the Board was from the very beginning inclined to justify the 5 per cent. reduction. Nor is this suspicion allayed by the rapidity with which the findings of the Board were put into force without waiting for the sanction of the Indian Legislature.

The chief object of the Agreement of January, 1935 which was planned and concluded without consulting Indian commercial opinion and put into operation without consulting the Indian Legislature, was no doubt to enlarge the preferential advantage for British goods in the Indian market and for this purpose to circumscribe the powers of the Legislature in fiscal matters. Certain provisions of the new Federal constitution serve the same end and in a more effective way because any amendment of such provisions would require the consent of the British Parliament. The Government of India and the Indian Legislature "will possess complete freedom to negotiate agreements with the United Kingdom or other countries for mutual tariff concessions," and it will be the duty of the Governor-General "to intervene in Tariff policy or in the negotiation or variation of tariff agreements only if, in his opinion, the intention of the policy contemplated is to subject the trade between the U. K." and India to restrictions conceived not in the economic interests of India but with the object of injuring the interests of the U. K."¹ From this and what has been stated already in Section I, it will be seen how very wide powers have been given to the Governor-General in commercial matters. This elasticity of the principle thus formulated for preventing discrimination against British goods leaves India little scope for entering into reciprocal trade arrangements with other countries.

It is not difficult to explain the anxiety of the U. K. to ensure preferential treatment for her goods. After the War she has been attacked in the Indian market on two fronts. On the one hand, India started to develop her industries at an accelerated pace with the result that the market for certain foreign manufactures was visibly

¹ Report of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, Vol. I, p. 205.

shrinking ; on the other hand, even in this limited market British goods had to encounter increasingly severe competition from foreign countries, particularly, Japan. Faced with these difficulties the U. K. is now engaged in erecting a barrier of preferential tariffs to safeguard her own position in the Indian market, apparently not paying any serious heed to the fact that such a policy is prejudicial to the interests of India's consumers and also of her industries.

In the pursuit of this policy the Fiscal Convention was naturally found to be an embarrassing obstacle. In the name of elucidating the real meaning of the Convention its substance has been thinned down. Yet this encroachment on India's fiscal autonomy, however cleverly done and euphemistically put, has caused deep resentment in India. It has, more than anything else, served to make the idea of Imperial Preference unpopular with Indians. For it is felt that in its own interest the politically stronger party seeks to impose an agreement on the weaker. In such an atmosphere talks of partnerships can hardly have any effective appeal to Indian minds.

To all those who would at heart welcome a sincere co-operation between the two countries over a very wide field of economic life, this attack on India's fiscal autonomy appears both harmful and unnecessary. It bears an evident impress of lack of imagination. For though the position of Great Britain may at present be difficult in the Indian market for certain commodities, there is, on a larger view, no fundamental contradiction between the economic interests of the two countries.¹

¹ Adapted from: Indo-British Trade Relations : The Ottawa Agreement and after, March, 1937.

At Home and Abroad

Indians In S. Africa

Sir Syed Raza Ali addressed a meeting of the Indo-European Joint Council of Durban on the industrial position of Indians in the Union. The statistics quoted by him show that considerable deterioration of the Indian economic position has taken place in the Union during the last 20 years.

A keen debate followed the address.

Bihta Disaster

The following communique has been issued :

The Government of India received a report from the Senior Government Inspector of Railways that an accident took place near Bihta, on the East Indian Railway on July 17.

In view, however, of the importance of the issues involved, both to the public and the Railway administration, the Government have decided to institute a judicial enquiry.

This enquiry will be conducted by a High Court Judge. The report of the Senior Government Inspector of Railways, together with all the relevant papers, will be placed before the High Court Judge appointed to conduct the enquiry.

Dr. T. Masaryk Dead

The death has occurred of Dr. T. Masaryk, ex-President of Czechoslovakia, at the age of 87.

All the members of his family, Dr. Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, and Dr. Hodza, the Premier, were present at the death-bed.

Black flags are flying everywhere and the whole country is plunged in mourning.

Ethiopia Drops out of League

Haile Selassie has informed the League that the Ethiopian Government will not be represented at the present session of the League Assembly, but a delegate at Geneva will inform Selassie, if necessary, to safeguard Ethiopia's rights and interests.

Agreement at Nyon

The Mediterranean anti-piracy agreement was signed at Nyon on Sept. all Powers represented having accepted the proposals, and already British French warships have started their patrol work.

The sudden despatch of the British battleship *Malaya* from Solonika, immediately after the agreement was reached, caused a great impression, indicating that the Powers mean business.

At the same time, the Admiralty announced that it had been decided that the *Cairo*, flagship of the Commodore commanding the Home Fleet Destroyer Flotillas and the Fourth Destroyer Flotilla, would proceed to the Mediterranean to join the anti-piracy patrol; while a message from Brest states that nine French Destroyers have left for the Mediterranean.

Mr. Anthony Eden, in a brief speech, at Nyon, emphasized that nothing was more welcome than the close co-operation of all interested nations, whether present at Nyon or not.

M. Delbos alluded to the previous gravity of the situation, but the rapidity with which the agreement had been reached had already had a moral effect.

M. Litvinoff regretted that Spanish Government merchant shipping had been excluded, presumably because that would be regarded as intervention in the war.

The British and French *Charges d' Affaires* say a Rome message, called on Count Ciano (Italy's Foreign Minister), and presented the Nyon conclusions.

Return of Colonies

"Europe will never be able to settle down, until the colonial question is settled," told Herr Hitler to "Reuter" and other foreign journalists in course of an informal talk after addressing a great gathering of Storm Troops and Black Guards in the Luitpold arena.

He added that Germany's colonial claims were not a question of war or peace but of commonsense, in which he believed. The question would have to be settled one way or the other just as the question of Germany's equality had been solved.

"What we have a moral right to is that which belonged to us before the War," added Herr Hitler.

Asked whether it would suffice, if international finances were set in order so that Germany would be able to buy raw materials and sell goods in other colonies, he replied that Germany's desire was to own colonies under her own flag.

Asked if it was intended to construct naval bases in any of the colonies which Germany might acquire, Herr Hitler replied: "Before you can have naval bases, you must have a navy." He added that Germany never had naval bases in her colonies before the War. Germany's interest in colonies was chiefly commercial.

Asked whether he thought the pacification of Europe was possible without a solution of the colonial problem, Herr Hitler made the reply given above.

It is understood that Herr Hitler will refer to the Nyon Conference and other foreign questions in his speech at the party Congress at its next session.

Herr Hitler stood saluting for nearly five hours while reviewing a parade of 110,000 Storm Troops and Black Guards from all parts of Germany.

U. S. and League

The American Minister in Switzerland, Mr. Leland Harrison, will represent the United States on the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on the Sino-Japanese conflict.

The United States Government has informed the League that it is unable to say to what extent it will be able to co-operate with the Committee until it is informed with regard to the functions it will be expected to perform.

It is further specified that the American Minister will attend in the same capacity and for the same purpose as did Mr. Hugh Wilson when he represented the United States in the 1933 Committee on the Manchurian crisis.

Making an announcement concerning the League, an observer of the State Department emphasized: "The American Government feels constrained to observe that it cannot take upon itself those responsibilities which devolve, from the fact of their membership, upon members of the League."

Dutch East Indies Defence

Queen Wilhelmina opening the new session of the Netherlands Parliament recently, said that owing to strained relations between the nations and the danger of international complications, it was necessary to continue reinforcing the armies not only of Holland but also of the Dutch East Indies.

An important piece of legislation would therefore be introduced without delay.

The Queen expressed satisfaction at the great improvement in the economic life of the country and added that all measures that the Government believed would continue to promote recovery would be taken.

Nations' Naval Strength

Statistics showing the world's comparative sea-power, issued by the United States Navy Department, place Great Britain far ahead of the other nations.

The British Navy now consists of 285 warships with a tonnage of 1,216,398 according to these figures.

The United States comes second with 325 ships of 1,083,330 tons. This figure, however, includes 212 wartime vessels of 214,100 tons that are considered over-age.

After Great Britain and the United States, the other sea powers are ranked as follows:—

Japan, 200 ships of 745,604 tons;
France, 162 ships of 469,346 tons;
Italy, 206 ships of 396,683 tons;
Germany, 77 ships of 147,632 tons.

Navy officials have stated, however, that the figures for Japan, Italy and Germany might not be complete.

The British and United States navies are compared as follows :

Great Britain	United States
15 Battleships	15
6 Aircraft Carriers	3
15 Heavy Cruisers	17
40 Light Cruisers	10
156 Destroyers	197
53 Submarines	64

These figures do not include warships under construction.

Turkey and Spain not to be re-elected

Neither Spain nor Turkey, who are automatically retiring from the League Council, succeeded in getting their candidature for a further period endorsed. The former was rejected by 24 votes to 23, while the latter secured 25 votes against 25, but a two-thirds majority was necessary.

The Spanish rejection is thought to imply the determination of members of the Assembly not to appear to take sides in the Spanish war. It is now certain that Peru and Iran will be elected, as they are the only candidates. The third seat vacant, on account of Chile's retirement, will be filled later, probably by Hungary or Belgium.

News and Views.

Delegation of Education Fellowship

A delegation of the New Education Fellowship will shortly be visiting India

The delegation consists of three members, namely, Professor R. L. Ziliacus, Chairman of the New Education International Fellowship Committee, Mr. Ernest Davies, Director of Education, Kent, and Professor Pierre Bovet, Professor of Education, Geneva.

The delegation recently participated in the regional Conference of the Fellowship in Australia. The first centre they visit in India will be Travancore, where they are expected to spend a few days.

A Travancore Group of the Fellowship was formed at a meeting held recently in the Training College. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, Special University Officer, was elected President of the Fellowship, and Dr K. L. Moudgill, Dr. J. H. Cousins and Mr. A. N. Thamphi were elected Vice-Presidents.

Ancient Indian Metal Lamps

The unique collection of ancient Indian metal lamps has now been added to the Travancore Government Museum at Trivandrum.

The nucleus of such a collection has existed in the Museum for some time, but recently a number of valuable and artistic lamps have been added, and arrangements are now being made for their proper exhibition.

The collection is not large, but comprises about thirty different varieties of metal lamps. It is difficult to estimate their age generally, as, in most cases, no inscriptions or other evidences have been left on them, but expert opinion is that most of them are very old.

A wide variety of lamps has been in use in Travancore temples and households from early times, and the lamps now on exhibition are a careful selection of such lamps. They include a 12th century hanging lamp of distinctive design with an image of Gajalakshmi on one side and a representation of Sri Krishna playing the flute, with the Gopis around, on the other. A sacrificial peacock lamp of probably equal age, as well as two large festival lamps with many tiers of wicks are included in the collection, which also comprises a Roman lamp presented by Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai.

The selection of these lamps has involved considerable skill, and the object has been to form a collection representative of indigenous lamps of Travancore. Some have been acquired with great difficulty from ancient Nambudiri houses where they have figured as treasured family heirlooms. In a few cases, however, the Museum authorities have been more lucky, and in such instances the lamps have been bought from persons who had no great appreciation of their artistic value.

It is proposed to add to the collection from time to time, thus making it representative of Travancore temple and household lamps, the old-world charm and appeal of which are well-known.

Silver Jubilee of Indian Science Congress

Lord Rutherford will preside over a joint session of the Indian Science Congress Association and the British Association on the occasion of the former Association's Silver Jubilee at Calcutta in January.

The meeting will mark a new stage in the history of the British Association and will be the first occasion in which a wide representative delegation from the British Association would sit in a joint session with a body as the Indian Association. The delegation will leave England early December and will be absent for two months.

Dacca University

It is understood that an election petition has been submitted to His Excellency the Governor as Chancellor of the Dacca University on behalf of Mr. Sultanuddin Ahmed, questioning the validity of the recent election of 15 Mohamedans as members to the Court of the University from among its registered Moslem graduates.

Mysore University

Dewan Bahadur Dr. Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, whose enthusiasm for public causes is well-known has made a notable addition to the list of his public benefactions. He has offered the generous sum of Rupees twenty thousand to the Mysore University to be used as the nucleus of a fund for starting such activities as will bring home the benefits of the University to the people at large engaged in agriculture, small trade and industries and to the rural population generally.

It is especially fitting that Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty should thus mark his long service to Mysore and its University, which but recently conferred upon him the greatest honour which it has in its power to bestow—by his handsome contribution towards the efforts that are being made for the promotion of the happiness and prosperity of the people, especially those in rural parts.

On behalf of the University of Mysore, His Highness's Government have accepted Sir Puttanna Chetty's generous donation with pleasure and gratitude.

Museum at Sylhet

The Government of Assam have granted a plot of land at Sylhet to the local Sahitya Parishad for the construction of a library building and a museum. The Maharaja of Gauripur has donated a sum of Rs. 500 towards the funds of the Parishad for the purpose.

New School Hours

By changing the working hours in a number of selected schools educational authorities in Travancore have initiated an experiment the results of which are being watched with interest.

Ordinarily, school hours are from 10-30 A.M. to 4-30 P.M. In the selected schools they have been changed to 7-30 A.M. to 11-30 A.M. By this re-arrangement educational opportunities are offered to those to whom otherwise they would be denied. Chauffeurs, bearers artisans and other workers of widely varying ages are able to get their schooling before they start their day's work.

Andhra Arts and Science Colleges

It is understood that the authorities of the Andhra University, while considering the question of the revision of the salaries and grades of the members of the teaching staff of Andhra University Colleges, for which a Committee was appointed, are also examining the necessity and advisability of appointing one Principal for both the Arts College and the Science College, as an administrative officer without any teaching work, to see that the educational policy of the University is carried out efficiently in the two colleges.

The name of Mr. C. D. S. Chetti, the present Registrar of the University, is mentioned as the person most likely to be appointed by the Syndicate for the Principalship.

Pitman Centenary

The Centenary of the invention of Pitman's Shorthand comes off on Saturday, the 20th November, 1937, and it has been decided to celebrate this great event on that date all over the country. As far as arrangements in Calcutta are concerned a special Committee was elected at public meeting held on 22nd August, 1937. Constituents and R-representatives in different parts of the Country have been entrusted with local arrangements for the celebration. They have also been directed to enlist the co-operation of professional associations wherever they exist. The Presidency and Southern States Shorthand Central Association in Madras are in charge of details as far as South India is concerned.

The invention of phonography has made it possible for speedy despatch of business in the modern world and civilization owes a great deal to the inventive genius of Sir Isaac Pitman. Shorthand has opened avenues of employment to a large majority of the middle class intelligensia in India and therefore it is only in the fitness of things that this great event be celebrated with due respect.

A donation list has been opened and practitioners and admirers of the art are earnestly requested to liberally contribute so as to make the function a great success.

Miscellany

THE SPIRIT OF DESCARTES AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY

In August 1937 the Ninth International Congress of Philosophy was held in Paris, bringing together a number of thinkers from all parts of the world. The Eighth Congress was held at Prague in 1934, and it was decided on that occasion that the next Congress should be held in Paris in 1937, the tercentenary of work dear to all philosophers—the *Discours de la Méthode*, published by Descartes at Leyden, and the sheets of which reached Paris early in 1937.

The "*Congrès Descartes*" is therefore a tribute to the greatest of French philosophers, to the one whose influence has been paramount in shaping what is called the French mind and whose impress, deny it as they may, has been felt by so many writers. The sittings of this Ninth Congress were superabundantly occupied, as manifest in the fact that in a single afternoon 55 communications were dealt with. Before the opening, indeed it was known that of the 320 communications sent in, 67 related to Descartes and the Cartesian doctrine, more particularly as concerns its diffusion in Europe. It will be seen that this Congress was a striking tribute to the greatest French philosopher whose rôle and action H. Jean Zay, Minister of National Education, most clearly defined in his opening address.

Concurrently with the Congress, an Exhibition relating to Descartes was held at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. As they have done previously with regard to Rabelais, Goethe and Calvin, the organisers have striven to create an atmosphere, to afford a proper setting for the thinker they proposed to honour and to supply the visitor with the elements of a complete study of Descartes. The Catalogue, to which M. Julien Cain, Administrator-General of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* has contributed a foreword, and M. Charles Adam, Member of the Institute, an Introduction, is a real synthetic document, reviewing the successive stages of Descartes's life.

In regard to the *Discours de la Méthode* André Billy the critic, says that he reads it over whenever he is able to do so "for the sake of taking a bath of uprightness and intellectual freedom." Therein is to be found the finest lesson of balance, clarity, tolerance, cautious wisdom and mental courage. Descartes knew but too well what might be the lot meted out to the bolder thinkers of his age, nor did the example of Galileo ever fade from his memory. One can but praise him for successfully escaping persecution and threats. The "Man with the mask," as he is styled by his excellent biographer, Maxime Leroy, managed to puzzle many a spirit intent upon scrutinising his inmost thoughts. Though living in Holland, in Italy, in Sweden, he nevertheless paid several visits to France, the memory of which is called up, at the Exhibition, by prints, paintings and photographs.

Nor is it only the philosopher, the mathematician, the physician, that the Descartes Exhibition makes the visitor acquainted with. Even poetry and music entered into the thoughts of this complete mind. Almost unnoticed

goes this fleeting confession in the *Discours de la Méthode* : "I was enamoured of poetry." The ballet composed in honour of Christina of Sweden, the pastoral comedy entitled "*Parthenia*" (and which, by the way, has been lost), the *Compendium Musicae*, containing the precise notions of harmony possessed by Descartes, doubtless add but little to his glory, but one rejoices to find that the fine arts stood for something in his life. Similarly Descartes seems to have taken an interest in architecture. When it is remembered that he took service in 1619 in the army of the King of Bavaria although for a short time, the conclusion is easy that Descartes is fairly remarkable for the diversity of his attainments and experiences.

A fine collection of portraits has been brought together in this Exhibition. Every one is acquainted with the famous portrait of Descartes by Franz Hals, and the somewhat rugged countenance remains so deeply engraved in one's memory that one is rather surprised to find other, more graceful images, e.g., a portrait attributed to Mignard, in the National Gallery; another, attributed to Nanteuil, and lastly a delightful painting on wood, the property of the Mu-ée des Augustins, at Toulouse. Nor are to be forgotten the portrait by Sebastien Bourdon, those by Weenik, Jean Lievens, David Beck, Franz Schöoten, and so many others.

Among the works of art presented to the public is of course included the portrait of Christina of Sweden by Sebastien Bourdon. That learned Queen, who knew how to be ruthless at times was however a passionate lover of science and philosophy, and it will be remembered that it was when answering a call from her at 5 A.M. in the depth of winter, under the rigorous Swedish climate, that Descartes caught a pneumonia of which he died nine days after.

Finally must be mentioned the countless editions of Descartes's works and the magnificent manuscripts contained in the show cases of this remarkable Exhibition.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CONTENT OF SOCIOLOGY

The province of sociology as accepted by the *Bangiya Samaj Vijnan Parishat* (Bengali Institute of Sociology) is described below :

A. The categories of sociology can be found within the following groups of disciplines :

I. Theoretical Sociology.

1. Institutional or cultural sociology. This is a study in family, property, law, state, class, caste, party, myth, gods, crime, fine arts, sciences, technology, *mores*, language, etc., and may be taken roughly speaking in two branches :

(a) Anthropology and history as well as sociography. Here we have to encounter two distinct groups of studies, namely, (i) the descriptive, analytical and statistical study of biotypes, tribes, ethnic groups, race-mixtures, race-extinctions, *varnashankaras*, caste fusions, etc. and (ii) the objective-historical study of races and nations in both somatic (physical) and social (cultural) aspects.

(b) Social philosophy and philosophical history. Two distinct groups of studies are implied, (i) the study of evolution, progress, cycles, conflict, distance, transformations, *yugantaras*, metabolism, mobility, equilibrium, equations, etc., in societal fields, and (ii) the study of correlations or functional relations between diverse orders of societal phenomena. In both these

groups of studies we have to deal with the comparative examination of human achievements in diverse regions and epochs as well as the problems of social dynamics *vis à vis* social statics.

2. Psychological sociology, which is to be taken for practical purposes in two branches:

(a) Social psychology and psychiatry. This is a study of the mind in social relations and organizations and has to deal with instincts, drives, attitudes, situations, behaviour patterns, complex-wholes, *Gestalt*, mental products of community life, public opinion, imitation, social control, the unconscious repression, perversion, neuroses, psychoses, feeble-mindedness, maladjustments, etc.

(b) Social processes and social forms. This study involves the examination of (i) "between-men" behaviour,—all varieties of "to" and "away from" one another,—and (ii) the crowd, the group, the corporation, the state, etc.

II. Applied Sociology, which is a study in the attempts at the re-making of man, societal planning and world-reconstruction. This comprises, among other items (i) the examination of the standard of living, national income, peasants' conditions, diet and nutrition, housing, recreation, poverty, occupational structure, unemployment, migrations, public health, industrial hygiene, population policy, punishment, pedagogics, social insurance, party politics, feminism, demands of industrial workers, internationalism and so forth, and (ii) the study of reforms in law, constitution, economic organization, marriage, penal institutions, morals and manners, colonialism, inter-racial, inter-caste and inter-religious relations, etc.

B. Topically, the discussions in sociology are (1) biological, (2) climatologico-geographical, (3) medico-sanitational, (4) demographic, (5) eugenic, (6) sexological, (7) racial, (8) geopolitical, (9) psychological, (10) characterological, (11) educational, (12) economic, (13) political, (14) religious, (15) criminological, (16) rural-urban, (17) statistical, (18) historical, (19) philosophico-metaphysical, (20) methodological and so on.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

MASARYK'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL THOUGHT

Thomas Masaryk (1850-1937), President of the newly established Czechoslovak Republic continuously for three terms from 1918 to 1935, who died on September 14, had been professor of sociology at the Czech University of Prague for a whole generation from 1882 to 1914. Sociology as understood during that generation in the scientific world and as cultivated by Masaryk was a very wide-flung and all-round social science of an encyclopaedic character. Masaryk's contributions to the different branches of social science are noteworthy. One of his first essays is entitled *Plato as Patriot* (1878). To the first decade of his publications belong *Hypnotism* (1880) as a treatise on animal magnetism, *Suicide* (1881), *The Ratio of Probability and Hume's Scepticism*, an historical introduction to the theory of induction (1883) *Pascal: His Life and Philosophy* (1883), *The Theory of History according to the Principles of Buckle* (1884), *On the Study of Poetical Works* (1884-1886), *Principles of Concrete Logic* (1885), a study in the classification of sciences.

The next decade was marked by the following publications: (1) *Slavic Studies*, Vol. I (1889), (2) *The Works of Dostoyevski* (1892), (3) *Comenius* (1892), (4) *Slavic Studies*, Vol. II (1894), (5) *The Czech Question* (1895), a

study in the strivings and longings for a national rebirth, (6) *Karel Havlicek* (1896), a study of the leader of Czech awakening (1821-1856), (7) *John Huss* (1896), a study in the Czech renaissance and the Czech reformation, (8) *Modern Man and Religion* (1897), (9) *The Social Question, a study in the Philosophical and Sociological Foundations of Marxism* (1898).

To the third decade of Masaryk's literary career belong (1) *Palacky's Ideas of the Bohemian People* (1899), (2) *The Eight Hour Day* (1900), (3) *Ideals of Humanity* (1901) (4) *Handbook of Sociology* (1901), (5) *The Controversy over Kant* (1902), (6) *The Struggle over Religion* (1904), (7) *Intelligence and Religion* (1907), (8) *Science and the Church* (1908), (9) *Simmel's Sociology* (1909).

Russia and Europe, Vol. I, was published in 1913, the year previous to the outbreak of the Great War. This work dealt with the intellectual currents in Russia and contained essays on the Russian philosophy of history and religion, sociological sketches, etc.

The following works belong to Masaryk's fourth and last period of literary activity: (1) *The New Europe from the Slav Standpoint* (1920), (2) *Russia and Europe*, Vol. II (1921), (3) *The Problems of Democracy* (1924), (4) *The World-Revolution, 1914-18* (1925), published in English as the *Making of a State* (1927), (5) *The Way of Democracy* (1933-34).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

MASARYK'S PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS

The above bibliography is adapted from the material furnished by Pawlow and Jakowenko in the volume of essays entitled *La Philosophie Tchecoslovaque Contemporaine* (Prague 1935, pp. 123-124). In the same volume there is a paper from the Russian writer Lapschin in German entitled "Th. G. Masaryk als Denker." Masaryk's *Concrete Logic* is described by Lapschin as an attempt to establish a concord in the anarchy of thought while his *Suicide* attempts to introduce harmony into a realm of anarchy in morals (p. 40).

Hence the importance of Masaryk's essays on Plato and Hume, as well as those on Pascal and Kant. His writings are characterised by efforts to establish bridges between the polarities. He is the philosopher of synthesis. Philosophy is according to him the quest of the knowledge of all, which, however, can never attain the final consummation. With his *Concrete Logic* Masaryk sought to furnish the Czech people with certain scientific foundations for a broad encyclopaedic culture. It is somewhat comparable to D'Alembert's *Elements de Philosophie* (1759) serving, as it did, as an introduction to the famous French Encyclopaedia.

As educator Masaryk rejects the so-called biogenetic law, which says that the evolution and development of the child repeat those of the whole history of the human race. Masaryk's sociology has no sympathy with the attempts of Durkheim to account for the origin of the categories of human thought by reference to the impacts of the society. According to Masaryk, as Hromadka the Czech scholar makes it clear in *Masaryk as European* (Prague 1936, p. 31), a man is neither a product of Nature nor of the nation nor of class nor of mankind. In *Concrete Logic* as in *The Philosophical and Sociological Foundations of Marxism* (1898) he is naturally therefore opposed to the "organismic conception of society."

He complains likewise that Comte entirely ignored the "creative I" of man and thereby delivered a much too mechanical and fatalistic theory of progress.

In Masaryk's analysis suicide is generally to be attributed to a-religious modes of life and thought. The egoistic isolation from community life and the indifference and antipathy to the super-personal life-forces are the factors that induce human beings to suicide.

One of Masaryk's articles of faith is to be "always for the labourer, very often with socialism, seldom with Marxism." The position is stated in a talk at Pisek in 1906. It is brought out in bold relief in *The Ideals of Humanity* (1901), *The Eight-hour Day* (1900) and *The Philosophical and Sociological Foundations of Marxism* (1898), as well as the *Czech Question* (1895).

BENAY KUMAR SARKAR

MASARYK'S CZECH QUESTION

In 1895 as a critic of the mentality of his countrymen Masaryk described the situation in his *Ceska Otazka* ("Czech Question") as follows:¹

"The entire attention of our national leaders and journalists was turned to Vienna, all salvation was expected from politics. Such an expectation must be disappointed, was disappointed and yet to be." Masaryk was then an exponent of non-political national idealism. His antipathy to Vienna, the Austro-Hungarian capital, from which Bohemia, the land of the Czechs, was ruled as a colony or dependency, might be compared to our Rabindranath's message as embodied in *bhikshaya naiva naiva cha* (nothing through, not certainly through, begging").

Masaryk's constructive nationalism of those days found expression in the following sentiment: "So much can be done through our work for the improvement of our national life even under the existing constitution that the incessant calling for the help of the state borders on being a sad state of affairs."

It is to be recalled that towards the end of the nineteenth century the Austro-Hungarian Empire was considered in European diplomacy to be a bulwark of peace in South-Eastern Europe. The integrity of this political complex, albeit heterogeneous, as well as the preservation, nay, strengthening of the Habsburg dynasty were the fundamental features of the *Geopolitik* of those days. A Czech nationalist naturally could not under those circumstances dream of an eventual dismemberment of this polyglot and hotchpotch empire through the operation of powerful world-forces. *Realpolitik* was against such dreams and idealisms.

As a thinker and servant of the Czech people Masaryk felt therefore the urges for preaching the politics of cultural propaganda, educational uplift, moral reform and spiritual remaking of personality. "Away from the state," "hands off politics,"—although not boycott of or non-cooperation with the Hapsburg *raj* was the slogan of Masaryk. The very manner in which he defined the nation and developed his theory of nationality pointed to the *milieu* of the hopelessness and despondency of the Czechs, as analyzed by himself, in regard to the possibility of political independence.

¹ J. Herben, *Thos. G. Masaryk* (Prague, 1919).

In Masaryk's conception, as prominent in *Ceska Otazka* the "idea of nationality is for an enlightened person a whole cultural programme." "If I say," observed he, "I am a Czech, I must have a cultural programme." Whether the Czechs were to have a state he was not sure. But he was convinced that in any case the Czechs were to be conscious of their nationality, in other words, to develop their personalities in a manner distinct from that of the foreign rulers, the Austrians (*i.e.* Germans). "Nationality creates states," said he. Besides, "every nation strives for its own political being, which is necessary even to a small nation." In such expressions Masaryk was but echoing some of the conceptions of German romanticism with which he had been familiar since childhood. In this phase of Masaryk we encounter the spiritual nationality of the romanticists which in one form or other enriched the thought of modern Europe in the writings of Herder, Adam Mueller, Fichte, Arndt, Jahn and Grimm. Masaryk's "nation creating the state" is virtually identical with Arndt's *Volk*, *i.e.*, folk or, people as *inneres Vaterland* (inner fatherland) which creates the external fatherland, *i.e.*, the state.

In so far as Masaryk's mind was bent on the nation and not on the state he considered the "social question" to be more important than anything else. "The social question must be solved wholly and positively." The solution of the social question was defined by him as follows: "It means to give spirit preponderance over matter, it means to suppress selfishness." The category, "national independence" or "national separateness" was automatically taken by Masaryk, romanticist as he then was, as different from, nay, perhaps as inferior to, "political independence" or statal separation. The *Ceska Otazka* declared Masaryk's article of faith in the following terms: "The nation must preserve its independence, morality and education will be our salvation. Even political independence is only a means to attain the righteous living of the nation. We lost it when we ceased living morally as a nation." Nationalism as thus defined is romantic philosophy carried to the nth term. In any case we obtain here a reminiscence, as it were, from the orthodox German romanticism of Jahn who believed that *Staat ohne Volk* (state without nation) is a *seelenloses Kunstwerk* (an artificial creation without soul).

We have already mentioned Rabindranath once in connection with Masaryk. It is indeed possible to establish an equation in many particulars of non-statal, nay, anti-statal nationalism between the *Ceska Otazka* (1895) of Masaryk and the *Swadeshi Samaj* or "Indigenous Society" (1904) of Rabindranath. In Tagore's ideology of those days, as is well known, there are two fundamental categories. One is the *samaj* or society. The *samaj* is Tagore's equivalent of the German romantic *Volk* (folk), people or nation. As against this category is posed the category, state. The nationalism of Tagore such as found expression in the days which prepared the way for the "ideas of 1905" was embodied in something like the following formula: "Let the society function in supreme indifference to the state. Render unto the Society the things that are the Society's and unto the State the things that are the State's." The rigid dichotomy as conceived by Rabindranath is not however to be found in the *Ceska Otazka*. For Masaryk was not even in a distant manner thinking of a condition of things that might appear to be a "division of functions" between the Austro-Hungarian state and the Czech people. And of course the situation of an *imperium in imperio*, a Czech national state within the Habsburg Empire, was likewise the farthest removed from his ideology. But it is a clear dichotomy such as can ultimately lead to extreme non-cooperation, if need be, that was envisaged in the

Swadeshi Samaj of Rabindranath. Be it observed at once, *en passant*, that when subsequently non-cooperation became a factual creed of Young India it was not initiated on the lines of *Swadeshi Samaj*. Tagore's dichotomy had not contemplated the totalitarian boycott of the existing Administration which was the theoretical objective of the non-cooperation propaganda under Gandhi (1919-1922).

Altogether, it is easy to agree with Kozak, the Czech interpreter, when he describes the *Ceska Otazka* as "an ethical and religious conception (*La Philosophie Tchécoslovaque Contemporaine*, Prague, 1935, n. 31). In the introduction Masaryk refers to "Providence which has ordained the place and purpose of the Czechs among the nations." The goal of the Czechs, said he, is to "recognize and realize this task properly."

The language of the mystic is here patent. The "mission" of the people, God's hand in the destiny of the nation, and so forth are well known mystical categories. Masaryk's romanticism here has all the mystical ring of Mazzini, the Italian Catholic prophet of nationalism. Or perhaps Masaryk's tradition is more Germanistic than Latin and in any case more Protestant than Catholic. We easily recall therefore Fichte's *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (1808), *Rede VIII*, where he describes the *Volk* as an instrument for the realization or development of the eternal divine principle (*Entwicklung der Goettlichen*).

Masaryk the mystic comes into bold relief in the perspective of his senior French contemporary, the rationalist Renan. In a lecture entitled *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation* "what is a nation?" (1892) Renan analyzed nationality into two groups of factors, objective or external as well as subjective or internal. The objective factors are, according to Renan, race, language, religion, historical tradition, myths, geography, etc. All these are considered by him to be of no significance. In Renan's analysis the only factor worth while in nationality is the subjective, the will and feeling.

The mysticism of Masaryk's nationalism is likewise at poles asunder from the realism of the Italian jurist Mancini, who in his lecture *Della nazionalità come fondamento del diritto delle genti*, formulated the principle that nationality was the foundation of the law of nations (1851). In this conception it is not the language-race-territory complex, *i.e.*, not the physical-objective element that is the deciding factor. The important consideration in nationality, according to Mancini, is the will, the psychological factor. Both in Mancini and Renan it is the will to be a state that characterizes the nationalist. In Masaryk's *Ceska Otazka*, on the contrary, the alphabet of the nationalist fights shy of the state and deals with culture, spirituality, God.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE MAKING OF A STATE BY MASARYK

The political connection with Austria had been justified by the pioneers of Czech nationalism like Palacky (1788-1876) and Havlicek (1821-1856). In 1895 Masaryk was but continuing the same tradition.¹ In 1907 as soon as universal suffrage was enacted in the Austro-Hungarian Empire Masaryk became a member of the Reichstag at Vienna. He described the situation

¹ Masaryk, *The Making of a State* (London 1927), pp. 15, 20, 22, 30, 33.

as follows:—"The better I got to know Austria and Habsburg, the more was I driven into opposition." This sentiment did not however develop into a new political philosophy. As in the *Ceska Otazka* (1895) his object as member of the *Reichstag* was simply "to de-Austrianize the Czech people while still in Austria." This attitude is what is known as moderatism in politics. The Czech people,—Young Czech—perhaps was already restless for a more active, radical and aggressive policy. There was therefore a dilemma to be solved,—the conflict between the growing ambitions of the Czechs at Prague and the *Realpolitik* at Vienna and in the world-conjuncture.

The "moderate" in Masaryk had therefore to cultivate a twofold relation with Vienna. His attitude of "association with" Austria was not the only orientation of his socio-political psychology. The other orientation was that of "opposition to" Austria. The double character of his relations with Austria could not win the whole-hearted sympathy of Young Czech, the restless spirits of Prague. The complex situation is described by him as follows: "I fought simultaneously on two fronts—against Vienna and against Prague."

A very important document of sociological importance is Masaryk's work *Svetova Revoluce*, *World-Revolution* (1925), known in English as the *Making of a State* (1927). Here we understand that the moderate lived to become an "extremist." *Realpolitik* changed in 1914 with the outbreak of the Great War. That outbreak formally announced to the world that perhaps Europe had at last become ripe for the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Among the Czechs as among the other suppressed nationalities of Central and South-Eastern Europe it was possible even for the pessimists, the moderates and the coolheads to suspect that the powers that were bent on subverting the Austro-Hungarian Empire might finally decide to emancipate the "subject, oppressed and small nationalities." Masaryk was already 64 years old. But the moment for the supreme decision of his life had come. And he decided. The mystic was transformed into the positivist. The statalist was born out of the nationalist. It is as if a Mazzini the dreamer grew to be a Cavour the diplomat.

"It was opposition to Pan Germanism, to whose ends Vienna and Budapest were subservient that caused me," says Masaryk, "to take part in the Austro-Serb conflict and finally in the world-war." It is neither the mystic nor the nationalist as opposed to the statalist that speaks in the following words: "Since we could not withstand Austria at home we must withstand her abroad." The message of Masaryk the nationalist transformed into the statalist was as follows: "Go abroad and get to work, with God's help." Another chip of this new nationalism was thus worded: "There our main task was to create an army from among the Czech prisoners of war."

The Czech legion was to be raised in Russia. But Masaryk "could not look to Czarist Russia for help." He advised that the Czechs should be in evidence here and there and everywhere in order to utilize the world-forces. "I favoured vigorous action abroad," says he, "not in Russia alone but also in other allied countries so as to gain the good will and the help of all."

The war gave the verdict in favour of the forces against Austria-Hungary and so Masaryk came back to his fatherland as the first President of a new republic. For the purposes of ideological perspective it is proper to recall that the accident of history did not reserve such a destiny for Mazzini, the St. John the Baptist, nay, the Jesus the Christ, of nationalism

in the nineteenth century. Masaryk is indeed as it were a Mazzini multiplied by a Cavour.

From the *Ceska Otazka* of 1895 to the *Svctova Revoluce, 1914-18.* of 1925 is a far cry. It is an autobiographical memoir of the "world-revolution during and since the war of 1914-18." This is an epoch-making contribution dealing as it does with the evolution of ideas and ideals from romanticism to realism. The work has been translated into German (1925), English (1927), Russian (1927), Ukrainian (1930), French (1930) and Polish (1930).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR



Reviews and Notices of Books

Handbook of English Pronunciation, by Kamalakanta Mookerjee, M.A., B.T., DIP.SP.ENG., Lecturer in Education, Calcutta University, and Umapati Trivedy, B.A., B.L., with a Foreword by Rev. C. S. Milford. M.A. (Oxon.), M.C., published by S. M. Chatterjee, M.A., 4, Brindaban Mallik Lane, Calcutta. To be had of : Kamala Book Depot and Book Company, College Square, Calcutta. Price: Re. 1 as. 8.

Messrs. Mookerjee and Trivedy have done a useful piece of work in producing this little book. They have used in it their experience as teachers of English, and since such experience, from the very nature of the case, differs from country to country, their book is bound to be of special value to *our* teachers and pupils. Pronunciation of English varies from country to country, and this is due not only to geographic and climatic reasons, but also on account of the differences in the background of native and indigenous sounds. Within India itself, this shows in the different ways in which a man from Bengal, Punjab or Madras pronounces the same English word. Messrs. Mookerjee and Trivedy are therefore to be congratulated on producing a book directed to meet the requirements of Indian pupils. There are seven well-arranged chapters and six valuable appendices. Especially, the chapters on 'The Analysis and Classification of Sounds' are very competently done and on a comparative basis, taking side by side the sound-systems of some of the Indian languages. The Appendices also will prove very helpful for they provide plenty of practice for drilling the teachers and students in correct articulation and loud reading.

Teachers will find the book useful, not merely as a handbook of English Pronunciation, but also as a primer of the general methods of teaching, for though this is not their primary aim, the authors have included many sensible and valuable hints about the psychology of teaching.

H. K.

"Contemporary Indian Philosophy." Edited By S. Radhakrishnan, D.Litt., and J. H. Muirhead, LL.D., F.B.A. Library of Philosophy. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Price 6s. net.)

"This volume," says the notice on the cover page, "is a continuation of the series recently published in the Library of Philosophy in Contemporary European and Contemporary American Philosophy," and the hope is expressed that "it will contribute to a better mutual understanding between the whole mind of East and West." The "Foreword" by the General Editor further informs the reader that "owing to the necessity to impose some easily understood limit to the range of choice, the essays which follow are all by philosophers of or about forty-five years of age." This is obviously misleading as some of the contributors (Profs. Hiralal Haldar, K. C. Bhattacharyya, Hiriyanna, etc.) are above sixty, while many notable Indian thinkers "of or about forty-five years of age" (Profs. N. N. Sengupta, Haridas Bhattacharyya, Sisir Kumar Maitra, M. N. Sircar, Anukul Mukherjee, etc.) nowhere appear in the volume. The title "Contemporary Indian Philosophy" is also a misnomer as some

of the contributions are of the nature of religious discourses without any pretensions to philosophical analysis while some are on the borderland of philosophy and literature being more literary than philosophical in a strict sense. The strictly philosophical articles some of which do not answer to either of the two groups noted by the general editor being neither expositions of ancient Vedic thoughts nor their reinterpretation from the modern standpoint, are those by Profs. Halder, Bhattacharyya, Chatterjee, Dasgupta, Hriyanna, etc.

A detailed consideration of all the articles (fourteen in number) is not possible within the scope of a mere review. The present survey will be confined only to a select few, *i.e.*, to such only as appear to have a special bearing on present-day tendencies of Indian thought.

The paper "The Spirit in Man" by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan deserves special notice not merely as coming from one who has earned international reputation for himself but also as presenting the reader in the Professor's inimitable style with his own personal estimate of current values and ideals. The whole article has exceptional literary merit and it will perhaps be no exaggeration to say that in elegance of style and force of expression the Professor here excels even the great Indian poet whose contribution as far as the present volume is concerned falls short of expectations. The general reader will undoubtedly find the Professor's article both entertaining and edifying, and though the trained philosopher may feel somewhat baffled to reconcile the different aspects of his metaphysical construction he will not be disappointed as he is likely to be with the manner as well as the matter of some of the other contributions to the volume. The Professor attempts a synthesis of Absolutism and Theism and thus we have a type of Absolutism which is neither Sankarite nor Bradleyan but may be said to be a sort of evolutionary monism of the Ramanujist or the Vallabhite type with the theory of *māyā* or appearance altogether eliminated. It is interesting to note that the Professor here openly repudiates both Sankara and Bradley (p. 281) and though thereby he leaves no room for any misunderstanding of his strong Bergsonian leanings, he yet does not show how a temporal whole can be reconciled with its intrinsic timelessness. A theory of appearance or *māyā* as we have in the Sankarite or the Bradleyan systems cannot be as easily dispensed with as the learned Professor seems to think.

"The Concept of Philosophy," another noteworthy article in the volume, by Prof. K. C. Bhattacharyya, presents a striking contrast to Prof. S. Radhakrishnan's in many respects. While the latter's brilliant literary style carries away the reader by its irresistible appeal to the emotions Prof. Bhattacharyya's subtle metaphysical construction appeals to the cold critical reason far more than it does to the reader's feelings and imagination. This makes the whole paper very difficult reading not merely because its technical philosophical language requires a sound knowledge both of Indian and modern philosophy for intelligent comprehension, but also because it demands a very high order of abstract thinking and philosophical analysis. Prof. Bhattacharyya's philosophical papers are always a bugbear to the lay reader not because they are deliberate mystifications, as some self-constituted inexperienced experts in philosophy presume to think, but because they are constructions on new lines, explorations of uncharted regions of thought, instead of being mere patchwork repetitions of ancient and modern concepts. This holds of the present paper no less than it does of his other writings, and if the general reader find it a baffling puzzle too intricate for his brains to solve, the disciplined philosopher will find in it enough evidence of the speculative heights to

which an Indian mind may soar and of which every Indian as Indian may feel justly proud. Prof. Bhattacharyya starts from Kant's distinction between pure thought and knowledge and suggests, with his usual grasp of the weak points of the Kantian theory of knowledge, that there may be knowing without thinking, i.e., knowing which is not thinking and judging the given matter of intuition. That such an admission is called for by Kant's own views as formulated in the second *Critique* demands, Prof. Bhattacharyya observes, a recasting of all old ideas of philosophy and its appropriate task. With these prefatory remarks, Prof. Bhattacharyya introduces the reader to his classification of the different grades of theoretic consciousness and the kind of knowledge that is aimed at in each. According to him, the grades of theoretic consciousness, four in number, "may be roughly called empirical thought, pure objective thought spiritual thought and transcendental thought. Empirical thought is the thought of a content involving reference to an object that is perceived or imagined to be perceived, such reference being part of the meaning of the content." Consciousness of contents that are "objective but have no reference to perception" may be called "pure objective or contemplative thought." Spiritual thought is the thought of a content that is no object, being subjective in the sense of being 'enjoyed' or enjoyingly known rather than contemplated in the objective attitude. "Transcendental thought is the consciousness of a content that is neither subjective nor objective." "The contents of the four grades may be provisionally called fact, self-subsistence, reality and truth. Science deals with fact, the content of empirical truth. Philosophy deals with the last three, the contents of pure thought in the objective, subjective and transcendental attitudes." The rest of the paper (obviously a reconstruction of the Kantian theory of knowledge) elaborates these different attitudes and their respective contents and the philosophical reader will find in it not only metaphysical construction of the highest order but also new light on some of the baffling problems of philosophy. The paper is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of the contributions to the volume.

Another important contribution deserving of special notice is "The Philosophy of Dependent Emergence" by Dr. Surendra Nath Dasgupta, the well-known author of "The History of Indian Philosophy." It is however rather queer that the author of so many works on Indian Philosophy should begin his paper with a prefatory denunciation of Indian thought and its slavish dependence on Vedic authority. Apart from the fact that the writer himself lapses into the confession that the so-called dependence on authority is nothing but lip-homage which is broken in the spirit far more than it is observed in the letter, the undeniable fact remains that neither Buddhist nor Jaina Philosophy rest on Vedic authority. And what makes this uncalled-for outburst against Indian Philosophy almost an irony is that the writer's own paper is an elaboration in terms of modern thought of one of the fundamental concepts of Buddhist Philosophy, viz., its doctrine of *pratityasamutpāda*. In fact, it will be scarcely wide of the mark to say that what the writer describes as Dependent Emergence is only the English rendering of what the Buddhists mean by *pratityasamutpāda*. It is no doubt true that some European scholars feel a sort of self-gratification in belittling Indian Philosophy by harping on its dependence on authority, but Dr. Dasgupta who knows well what such dependence in fact means ought not to have lent his authoritative support to such deliberate misrepresentations. Despite all he says however of Indian Philosophy and its (imaginary) limitations, his paper remains one of the best contributions to the volume, and

the reader will find in it an outline of a complete system of Philosophy based on the Buddhist doctrine of *prattiyasamutpāda* though reinterpreted and considerably modified in the light of modern thought.

The article "Commonsense Empiricism" by Prof. G. C. Chatterjee is also a creditable performance, though one must add that despite its healthy commonsense and its neat, beautiful style it suffers from an excess of simplicity and a somewhat hasty evasion of crucial issues. Dr. Hiralal Haldar's "Realistic Idealism" also deserves special mention as an able presentation of Hegelian Absolutism and though the grand old Professor here says nothing that he has not already said with great thoroughness elsewhere, he yet does so with extraordinary lucidity and masterly expressiveness. It is interesting to find the venerable Professor who had all his life remained a consistent unbeliever in Indian Philosophy overcome at last his customary repugnance to Indian speculation and quote freely from Indian religious literature in support of his exotic Hegelian views.

Two other articles may also be mentioned, *viz.*, (1) "The Science of the Self" by Mr. Bhagvan Das and (2) "The Problem of Truth" by Prof. Hiriyanā. The first is an outline of a system of philosophy worked out on the lines of the Sankarite Vedānta and will appeal to all Sankarite scholars as an able presentation of the Vedāntic position though couched in a somewhat clumsy style. The second is a blend of Nyāya and Vedānta, *i.e.*, of the Vedānta doctrine of the false as the indescribable (the writer calls it 'unique') with the Nyāya theory of extrinsic validity (coherence, harmony). All this is further worked into a metaphysical world-view of the ordinary realistic type. Whether these diverse elements will coalesce and form a stable, coherent whole or unity it will be for the reader to judge and find out for himself.

Our survey will be incomplete without a reference to the Indian saint's single-page contribution which is the first article in the volume. With his characteristic simplicity and pointedness, the Mahatmaji gives us here the essence of his spiritual beliefs which are summed up in the word, Truth. Says he "now-a-days nothing so completely describes my God as Truth. Denial of God we have known. Denial of Truth we have not known.....We are all sparks of Truth. The sum-total of these sparks is indescribable, as-yet-unknown-Truth, which is God." This is a record of experiences rather than a philosophical system, and yet it lends itself to be elaborated into one without much ado or difficulty. We have here in fact, not merely brick and mortar, but also a sort of sketch or paper plan of the whole edifice.

S. K. MAITRA

Life Here and Now. By Arthur Ponsonby. George, Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Price 10s. 6d. net.

The object of the book, if it is written with any object in view, seems to be to urge "unremitting action." For all purposes, practical, theoretical and spiritual, life here and now transcends in importance all strivings after immortality. The author critically considers all the favourite arguments regarding immortality that have been advanced since the earliest times as, for example, re-union in after life, doctrine of retribution, etc., and finds them untenable in theory and unsatisfactory in practice. In all these

arguments, the crux of the whole problem, the Time element, has been left out of account. A proper connotation of eternity is wanting. He draws a vivid picture of the modern social life and notes the tendency to megalomania that has infected both the individuals and the masses and which has been produced by the marvellous inventions and discoveries of the last fifty years. We are all after big results, but it is the little things that affect our moods and tempers. "Men are rarely moved consistently by great and broad motives, but by the trivial currents of daily life and the adaptation of their existence to conditions which leave them most free from worries and discomforts." (Pp. 272-3, quoted from Hudson Parry). All this megalomania is due to the fact that the Now has been neglected. "Yet the condition of the next length of rail is more important for a running train than the long smooth track promised miles ahead" (p. 278). Hence the necessity of ceaseless action in the present. We should not try to avoid immediate responsibility by seeking refuge in obscure realms manifestly beyond reach.

The book is a brilliant one, abounding in illuminating flashes of insight, effective rhetorical devices as also in cold and cogent logical arguments. The author's analytical study of the trend of modern civilised societies and his destructive criticisms of traditional beliefs are generally profound and always interesting. The chapter on the Variations in the sense of Duration and Images of Time, though long drawn out, will be read with pleasure by professional psychologists. An enthusiasm for action is noticeable throughout the book. The forceful arguments and the vigorous style constantly drive us forward and we feel prompted as it were to plunge ourselves immediately into the whirlpool of activities. This certainly is a matter of great credit for the aged author who, had he been following the usual practice, would have indulged at his age in "deathbed repentances" and "intelligent recantations" in a book of reminiscences.

We are fascinated by the book but that does not mean that we unreservedly accept all that the author has laid down in his thought-provoking and almost challenging book. But no detailed comment is called for, since the author has boldly asserted in the preface that he has not written the book to preach any philosophical "ism" or to please any particular person.

S. C. MITRA

Thought and Reality, Hegelianism and Advaita. By P. T. Raju, M.A., Ph.D. Foreword by J. H. Muirhead. George, Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1937. 10s. 6d. net. Pp. 285.

If the East and the West are to meet at the thought-exchange of the world, books of the kind we have here under review lead the way to that desired goal. Never before did the world stand in greater need of an understanding between its different peoples, geographically as well as culturally insulated. We fully agree with Prof. J. H. Muirhead as he writes in the *Foreword* that the 'chief problem before the world at the present time is the healing of divisions between nations by a more earnest effort to understand one another,' and to that end nothing is so important as the 'change' in the 'angle of educational incidence' which has the effect of 'softening the antagonism between views that are apt to seem reciprocally irrational to the communities who hold them' (p. 17). With the added authority of his position as the last of the Neo-Hegelian Idealists in English-speaking countries, the veteran Professor of Philosophy records his concluding reflection in words to this effect: "What is of importance

is the development both in East and West of a wider point of view which contains the promise of a better understanding between them as to the real meaning of human life and the ideals that should animate it in the great co-operative enterprise on which they are embarking" (p. 18). In our opinion Dr. Raju's treatise on Hegelianism and Advaita is one of the ablest commentaries on Thought as a co-operative activity.

It is instructive to note, however, that Dr. Raju studiously avoids the pitfall of a comparative study of the kind he has undertaken here. Mere random assortment of similar statements leads us nowhere—certainly not to the establishment of a systematic philosophy. A philosophical system, whatever else it might be, is not a mosaic brought into being by piecing together its parts culled from all possible sources. Accordingly, we are in hearty agreement with him when he avers that "there is no philosophy which is comparative philosophy, just as there is no religion which is comparative religion" (p. 27). But his prescript—"comparison should be between system and system, not between concept and concept" (p. 25)—however, sound in principle, is in practice more honoured in the breach than in the observance thereof. In strict keeping with his belief that 'comparison should be systematic, and should help us in determining the nature of the operative principle and throwing it into relief,' the author attempts herein 'only to take the bearings of Saṅkara's Vedānta on Hegelianism, the most fully developed philosophy of the West, so that the guiding principle of the former may be grasped' (p. 28). And the attempt in question, be it duly acknowledged, has been crowned with well-merited success in so far as he has worked out, with scrupulous honesty and meticulous care, the ideal of comparative study to the minutest detail of a philosophical interpretation.

Part One of the book treats of 'The Absolute as a Coherent System,' and contends that 'in order that the Absolute can be a coherent system, its members must be eternally existent, because the Absolute is eternally perfect' (p. 32). This is a position, though not above criticism, which has been convincingly worked out by the author. Part Two deals with 'the Problem of Negation' and affirms that Negation 'has no ontological validity' in so far as 'ontologically, negation is identical with its basis, which is positive' (p. 90). Part Three faces the 'Problem of Truth,' and holds that 'non-contradiction as the nature and criterion of truth is more satisfactory than coherence' (p. 126). Part Four discusses the nature of the 'Self and the mind' and concludes that 'Self-consciousness is the nature of reality,' for it is 'only the self that can be the object of itself' (p. 190). Finally in Part Five, our author holds that 'the method that is the method of philosophy and at the same time represents the process of life is the transcendental method,' and it is 'in truth a method of discovery, not a method of deduction.'

It is regrettable, however, that a creditable production like this, entrusted to a publishing firm of the eminence of George, Allen and Unwin Ltd., should have been disfigured by such typographical errors as the following;—'to adopt' for 'to adapt' (p. 23), 'Visvanadha' for 'Visvanātha' (p. 113), 'Taushung' for 'Täuschung' (p. 154) 'Tulavidyā' for 'Tulāvidyā' (p. 156 f. n.), 'phenomena is' for 'phenomenon is' (p. 162) 'in' for 'on' (p. 166), 'and forms' for 'and form' (p. 246). No effort is to be spared in the second edition of the book, if and when it is called for, to see that it is converted into the flawlessly perfect production it rightfully claims to be.

Bradley and Bergson, A Comparative Study—By Ram Murti Loomba, M.A., with a Foreword by Narendra Nath Sen Gupta, A.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy, Lucknow University. The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow, pp. 187+xi.

The monograph under review, which is characterised by its sponsor as 'the first publication of research work in philosophy carried on at the Lucknow University' (p. v) is to be welcomed, not merely for its intrinsic worth but as being symptomatic of the quality of critical scholarship fostered by that University. The Comparative Study traverses one of the deeper currents of contemporary philosophical thought, and may, not improbably, promote fresh excursions into this and other kindred spheres of thought.

Believing with Eucken that a 'spiritual life which is a unified whole is at work in the depths of our soul' (p. 7), our author regards man 'as a microscopic representation of God, the Absolute,' and his 'ideas or ideals the only sources whereby it can be known' (*loc. cit.*), or in other words he holds that 'knowing is being' (*loc. cit.*) Notwithstanding the polemical character of the thesis, one cannot help admiring the refreshing candour with which the author maintains the position. In accordance with this foundational belief he opines that 'every well-meaning and sincere attempt at a knowledge of the Ultimate Reality must in its own way and to a certain degree go some way towards attaining its desired objects' (p. 16) and hence absolute opposition of what are often called metaphysical alternatives is only an appearance and not a fact' (*loc. cit.*) In these days of professionalism and partisanship which have invaded even the sphere of search after truth, the catholic outlook indicated here is a commendable feature of the metaphysical quest embodied in the book. With this orientation prefacing his study the author proceeds to substantiate the thesis that "Bradley's philosophy of absolute idealism and Bergson's philosophy of intuitionism form two definite stages of the idealistic movement in metaphysics which is characterised since the middle of the nineteenth century by a reaction and a protest against introduction of 'scientific' methods in philosophical investigations made current by naturalistic, evolutionistic, and positivistic thinkers' (p. 19). The first item in the anti-intellectualistic campaign of both is 'the distrust of science' and the breaking of the idol of scientific method. In carrying out this mission of anti-intellectualism both Bradley and Bergson, as the author rightly observes, have used the very method of the intellect itself in their arguments. No less remarkable is the verisimilitude underlying the experience of the Ultimate as conceived by Bradley and Bergson. The Absolute Experience of the former is a Higher Immediacy in which thought, feeling and will are fused into one inclusive whole, while the Intuition of the latter is attained by a re-union of the two divergent directions of the evolution of Life—instinct and intelligence. But Bergson's Intuition is 'a concrete experience which man can realise,' while 'Bradley's Higher immediacy is more or less a hypothetical state' (p. 147). The comparison of "this aspect of Bradley's thought" with "what Max Müller called the attitude of 'henotheism' in the Indian pre-Upanishadic philosophers" (p. 89) is somewhat far-fetched and obscure. The concluding reflection that while 'Bergson's is a philosophical mysticism, Bradley's is a mysticism inspite of philosophy' (p. 181) is not, very happily worded. It is difficult to guess whether the author means to differentiate here as Prof. Bennett has done, between a philosophy of mysticism (which is admissible) and a mystical philosophy (which is inadmissible).

The get-up of the book, however, leaves much to be desired in so far as the latter half of it contains a typographical error almost in every other page. This is, to say the least, irritating to the reader. It is hoped that the second edition of the book, otherwise so stimulating and entertaining, will be entirely free from this defect of slipshod printing.

S. K. DAS

Buller System of Contract Bridge by Lieut. Col. Walter Buller, C.B.E., and published by "The Star" Publication Dept., 47/48, Fleet Street, E.C. 4, London.

Lieut.-Col. Buller's name is well-known to the bridge-playing public. He is one of the finest players and decidedly the most successful bidder in the world. This book written by him introduces us to his own system as opposed to that of Ely Culbertson. The system is very simple and at the same time very effective. The "Two Bid" in a suit is really very effective and paying. Games and slams, big or small, can seldom be missed whereas valuable part scores which count so much in duplicate matches can be gained with the greatest accuracy.

The chapter on "Slam-bidding" though very short, shows how without the use of any convention such as the Four-Five No-trump convention on the Asking Bid as introduced by Ely Culbertson, slams can be bid with safety avoiding the duplication peril. The system ought to be given an honest trial by the Bridge-playing public.

M. M. G.



THE THIRTEENTH ALL-INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE APPEAL

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the All-India Educational Conference will be held in Calcutta this year during Christmas Holidays. This Conference is held under the auspices of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations. The different Teachers' Associations and Educational organisations in India are affiliated to the Federation, which, in its turn, is affiliated to the World Federation of Educational Associations. For the last twelve years the Conference has been holding its annual sessions in different parts of India under the presidency of distinguished Indian educationists.

India is passing through a stage of transition, and the time is most opportune when those who are engaged in the real nation-building work should come together to discuss the problems of education in all its aspects with special reference to the present exigencies prevailing in India. The future welfare of the nation depends to a great extent upon the proper solution of the educational problems of the country. Bengal, the pioneer of English education in India, will have an opportunity of inviting the educational experts on this occasion to give a lead in this matter, and Calcutta, the cultural centre of the Province, will be the venue of the Conference.

Last year the Conference was held in Gwalior, and the State bore all the expenses incurred in connection therewith. The amount of expenditure for such Conferences comes to the neighbourhood of Rs. 8,000, towards which, we are glad to announce, the Calcutta Corporation has made a grant of Rs. 1,500 and the Calcutta University has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 500. We have also requested the Bengal Government to sanction an adequate grant. The Membership of the Reception Committee and the delegation fees may bring in a sum of Rs. 2,008. Taking all these details into our careful consideration, we have come to the conclusion that a sum of Rs. 5,000 will have to be raised from the generous public in the shape of donations.

We earnestly hope that the public of Bengal will give this matter their kind and careful consideration, and help the Reception Committee with adequate financial assistance to hold successfully the session in Calcutta this year in a way befitting the fair name of Bengal and the hospitality of the Bengali people.

We also appeal to all educational institutions in Bengal (Primary and secondary Schools as well as Colleges) to associate themselves with this Conference by contributing a suitable amount as donation and also by sending teachers as delegates.

Sanat Kumar Roy Choudhury, M.A., B.L.,
Chairman (Mayor of Calcutta)

Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyay, B.Sc. (Cal.), M.A. (Cantab.),
General Secretary.

Anathnath Basu, B.A. (Cal.), M.A. (London), T.D. (Lond.)

Monoranjan Sen Gupta, B.A., B.T.

Ramani Mohan Roy, M.Sc.,
Joint Secretaries.

Rabindra Narayan Ghose, M.A.,
Treasurer,
Reception Committee.



Gurselves

[I. Professor Radhakrishnan.—II. Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures for 1936-37.—III. University Students' Information Bureau for 1937-39.—IV. Dr. S. P. Chatterjee.—V. Ramtann Lahiri Professor of Bengali.—VI. Indian Military Academy.—VII. Coates Medal for the Year 1936.—VIII. New Fellows.—IX. Our Representative on the Indian Historical Records Commission.—X. A New Ph D.—XI. Professor Hoops' Lectures.—XII. Tagore Law Lectures for 1937.—XIII. Dr. Myers' Lectures.—XIV. Girischandra Lecturer for 1937.—XV. Our Representative on the Advisory Board for Women's Education.—XVI. Premchand Roychand Studentships in Science Subjects for 1936.—XVII. Onauth-nanth Deb Research Prize for 1937.—XVIII. Shovona Memorial Silver Medal for Music.]

I. PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN

We extend our cordial welcome to Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT., George V Professor of Philosophy in this University, who has just returned to his post after a long period of absence. He had been away for a time to Andhra as Vice-Chancellor of the University and then to England as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in the University of Oxford. During this period his place was very ably filled by a succession of distinguished scholars, the last incumbent being Professor Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, who is equally revered in this University. Professor Radhakrishnan has come back to us with added glory and honour and we are proud of him. We hope he will continue to be associated with this University for many years to come.

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II. STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSH LECTURES FOR 1936-37

The following programme has been arranged for the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh lectures for 1936-37 to be delivered by Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT., in this University:—

I.	The Meaning of Religion ...	17th November,	Wednesday	5 P.M.
II.	Religion and Rationalism ...	19th	Friday	„
III.	Authority, Logic and Life ...	22nd	Monday	„
IV.	The Nature of Reality ...	24th	Wednesday	„
V.	The Meeting of Religion, Conflict and Co-operation...	26th	Friday	„

VI. The World and the Individual	...	29th November, Monday	5 P.M.
VII. Future Life	...	1st December, Wednesday	„
VIII. Life Eternal	...	3rd „ Friday	„

It goes without saying that the lectures will be highly interesting. We hope our readers will not miss this opportunity of listening to the disquisitions of a master mind.

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III. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' INFORMATION BUREAU, 1937-39

We have great pleasure in announcing that Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., has been nominated a representative of the Faculty of Law on the University Students' Information Bureau for the year 1937-39. Knowing Mr. Banerjee, as we do, we have every reason to believe that the Bureau will be greatly strengthened by his inclusion.

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IV. DR. S. P. CHATTERJEE

We are glad to announce that the Société de Géographie Commerciale et d'Etudes Coloniales, Paris, has awarded the Gaudy medal this year to Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, M.Sc., T.D. (Lond.), PH.D. (Lond.), Docteur de l'Université (Paris), F.G.S., lecturer in charge of Geography in the Teachers' Training Department of this University. The medal has been awarded for his work 'Le Plateau de Meghālaya' which, for originality of research, has been very highly spoken of by eminent scholars and favourably reviewed in all the leading geographical journals of the world, specially the Geographical Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, the Geographical Review of the American Geographical Society, and Annales de Géographie, Paris. Dr. Chatterjee has, we understand, been invited to attend the Congrès International des Sociétés de Géographie Économique for receiving the medal. He has also been invited by the Council of the American Geographical Society to become a Fellow thereof.

We are proud of Dr. Chatterjee's achievements and we heartily congratulate him on the great distinction he has won.

V. RAMTANU LAHIRI PROFESSOR OF BENGALI

We are glad to announce that Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., has been re-appointed Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali on the existing terms and conditions till he completes his sixtieth year. We congratulate the Professor on the extension of his term and we hope he will have ample opportunity to extend the bounds of knowledge by his contribution to Bengali literature.

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VI. INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

We have been asked to publish the following extract from the report of the Interview and Record Board for the Competitive Examination for admission to the Indian Military Academy, Dehra-Dun, held in March-April, 1937, and we hope it will be interesting to many of our readers:—

“In all 18 successful candidates, apart from those attending schools where no such facilities exist, had been enrolled in the University Training Corps or other similar military training units. Only three candidates, who might have joined such units but failed to do so, succeeded in obtaining a qualifying mark. A number of candidates, who had failed to join the University Training Corps, still complained that their practical training in Science subjects at their colleges interfered with their University Training Corps drill, but in some of these cases it appeared to the Board that this was an excuse offered by the candidates for their failure to join the University Training Corps rather than a real obstacle. Nevertheless, the Board think that, if possible, further attempts should be made to persuade those colleges and Universities at which the difficulty complained of does occur to see that facilities for joining the University Training Corps are provided for Science students who wish to join the Army as their career.

The Board noticed, with some surprise, the lack of knowledge displayed by a large number of candidates of the particular branch of the Army for which they said they would like to elect, if successful in obtaining entrance to the Indian Military Academy. For example, candidates were strangely ignorant of the organization of Cavalry Units and had only the haziest ideas of the functions of the Royal Engineers or the Royal Artillery.

Taken as a whole, the results of the interview again prove conclusively the advantage which candidates obtain from attending one of the schools definitely catering for a military education."

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VII. COATES MEDAL FOR THE YEAR 1936

We congratulate Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, L.M.S. (Cal.), D.O. (Oxon.), D.O.M.S. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Edin.), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), on his being awarded the Coates Medal for the year 1936. The Board of adjudicators, consisting of Sir Nilratan Sircar and Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, have recorded their high appreciation of Dr. Mukherjee's contribution to Ophthalmology.

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VIII. NEW FELLOWS

The following gentlemen have been nominated by His Excellency the Chancellor to be Ordinary Fellows of this University :—

1. Srijut Santosh Kumar Barua, B.A., M.L.A, in place of Mr. Mahendranath Gohain.
2. Dr. Satyacharan Law, M.A., B.L., PH.D. in place of the Hon'ble Mr. Naliniranjan Sarker.

We extend our hearty welcome to the new Fellows.

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IX. OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

We are glad to announce that Prof. S. N. Sen, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT (Oxon.) has been appointed to represent this University on the Indian Historical Records Commission. We congratulate Prof. Sen on his appointment.

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X. A NEW PH.D.

We congratulate Mr. Jitendra Kumar Chakravarti, M.A., on his being admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University. Dr. Chakravarti's thesis entitled "Resurrection of Metaphysics"

was adjudicated upon by a Board of Examiners consisting of Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, KT., M.A., D.LITT., Prof. R. G. Collingwood, M.A., and Prof. J. H. Muirhead, M.A., LL.D., F.B.A.

* * *

XI. PROFESSOR HOOPS' LECTURES

Arrangements are being made in this University for lectures to be delivered by Professor Dr. J. Hoops, the well-known Philologist. He will visit India in course of a lecture tour in November next. We understand Prof. Hoops will discourse on: (i) The Continental Home of the Anglo-Saxons and the Origin of the English Peoples, and (ii) English as World Language.

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XII. TAGORE LAW LECTURES FOR 1937

It is understood that Professor Sir William Holdsworth, KT, Tagore Law Professor for the year 1937, will arrive in Calcutta on the 14th or 15th December next and that he will deliver his lectures partly in December and partly in early January.

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XIII. DR. MYERS' LECTURES

It will be recalled that Dr. Charles S. Myers, Principal, National Institute of Industrial Psychology, London, was invited by this University to deliver a course of lectures on the "Choice of a Career: the Methods and Results of Modern Vocational Guidance and its relation to the Problems of Unemployment in India." We understand Dr. Myers will be in India during winter, and he has been requested to deliver a course of four lectures, two on "Industrial Psychology" and two on "Vocational Guidance" in this University in the first part of January next.

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XIV. GIRISHCHANDRA LECTURER FOR 1937

We have great pleasure in announcing that Srijut Debendranath Bose has been appointed Girishchandra Ghosh Lecturer for the year

1937. The subject Srijut Bose has chosen for his lectures is "The Pauranic Plays of Girishchandra." Srijut Bose is one of those who were intimately associated with Girishchandra and had many an opportunity of studying the poet-dramatist at first hand. We expect a just appreciation of Girishchandra at his hands.

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XV. OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE ADVISORY BOARD FOR WOMEN'S EDUCATION

We are informed that Mrs. Lilalatika Banerjee has been appointed a representative of this University on the Advisory Board for Women's Education in Bengal, *vice* Lady Abala Bose who has been selected as the President of the Board. We congratulate Mrs. Banerjee on her appointment.

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XVI. PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIPS IN SCIENCE SUBJECTS FOR 1936

The Premchand Roychand Studentships for the year 1936 in Science Subjects have been divided equally among the undermentioned candidates:—

Name	Name of Thesis.
Mr. Dineschandra Sen, M.Sc. ...	(i) Synthesis of Cyclic Thioketones and their Derivatives. (ii) Studies on the Negative Influence of a Thiokcarbonyl Group on the reactivity of an adjacent Methylene Group and 8 published papers.
Mr. Ramaprasad Mitra, M.Sc. ...	On the Electrochemical Properties of some Coloidal Solutions.

We congratulate the recipients of the studentships.

We also congratulate Mr. Hirendra Kumar Nandy, M.Sc., and Mr. Harishchandra Roy, M.Sc., two other competitors for the Studentships, who have been granted Special Scholarships for the excellence of work noticed in the theses submitted by them.

XVII. ONAUTHNAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE FOR 1937

In view of the fact that the candidate for the Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for the year 1937, whose thesis was approved, has since died, the Syndicate have, we understand, recommended to the Senate that a posthumous award of the prize be made and that it be deemed to have been awarded to the late Mr. Wahed Hossain, B.L., for his thesis on "Labour Legislation in British India." The value of the prize in cash as also the gold medal will be forwarded to his heirs.

It is indeed a matter of the deepest regret that Mr. Hossain did not live to see the result of his labours.

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XVIII. SHOYONA MEMORIAL SILVER MEDAL FOR MUSIC

We are glad to announce that Mr. Nagendranath Mukherjee, advocate, High Court, Calcutta, has made over to the University Rs. 600 in cash for the purpose of creating an endowment for the annual award of a Silver Medal to be called the "Shovona Memorial Silver Medal for Music" in memory of his deceased wife Sreemati Shovona Devi Saraswati, daughter of the late Hemendranath Tagore and Neepa Moyee Devi. The medal is to be awarded annually to any Bengali girl who successfully passes the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University and obtains the highest number of marks in Music.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1937

HIGHER CONSIDERATIONS

BY ELLEN HORUP
Geneva.

WHEN the American Commission, headed by Senator Nye, were looking into the activities of the munition industries, several things were revealed that reflected none too flatteringly on the British Empire.

When, to save her face, England too produced a commission she had learned her lesson. Whereas Senator Nyes had been commissioned to ask to have the books of the concerns involved put at the disposal of the investigators, the canny Britons confined themselves to verbal inquiries. The highest considerations made it necessary to limit the scandal as much as possible. And this was done.

Sir Herbert Lawrence, the manager of Vickers Armstrong, vouchsafed, however, with cheerful cynicism his opinion, and his point of view might very well stand as motto for the entire war industry: "The opposition to the manufacturers of arms and their propaganda is due to an honest but somewhat mistaken and idealistic respect for the sanctity of life and the injustice of war ..."

But the lords and masters of the munition industries are certainly not hampered by such silly considerations. They have, in common with the military class, but one goal: war !

If in truth there existed an international law respected by all, and whose aim consisted in maintaining peace and understanding

among the nations, neither the one nor the other would be of any use whatsoever.

In order to obtain wealth even in time of peace the munition industries must create an atmosphere of hate and strife, distrust and insecurity among the nations, and whenever they succeed in this aim their goods find a ready market. And the more their goods are sold, the more the insecurity grows, and the nearer comes war with sky-soaring profits for the war industry.

War industries do not employ the ordinary means for advertising. No large posters call public attention to the newest, most destructive grenade, or the most efficient explosive. Its methods are far more subtle but extremely effective. For instance; one day a small, insignificant paragraph is to be found in the French papers, telling the reader that Germany has tried out a new type of gun and has resolved to equip her entire army with it. That this is a trumped-up tale is of no importance; French orders for the new model will be forthcoming immediately, with the result that the erstwhile fabrication is transformed into truth, for orders from Germany follow in the wake of those from France.

This see-saw is now known to everybody, as is also the underhand work of the munition industries during the Disarmament Conference in London, where they succeeded in sabotaging the Air Force Treaty, as pointed out to the British investigating commission by Noel Baker. If you are yearning for war you must prevent peace. If you want peace you must understand the reasons of war.

The propaganda of the munition industries is nearly as highly developed, as far-reaching, and also as expensive as that of the British Intelligence Service.

That every newly elected minister is apt to find some shares in munition factories waiting on his writing desk is without a doubt an exaggeration; but it is nevertheless a fact that several ministers, even while members of the Disarmament Conference, possessed shares in munition industries, which roused public opinion to such an extent that many of them, among others Sir John Simon, were forced to get rid of their shares.

It is estimated that the French Comité des Forges spends annually up to frs. 75,000,000 for propaganda purposes, and that the big French conservative newspaper *Le Temps* receives not less than frs. 10,000,000 out of this amount.

How well profits and patriotism get along together can easily be imagined. For instance, during the World War Germany suddenly found herself in need of sulphurate of carbon and advertised for it in Swiss newspapers. The French Government paid at that time frs. 5,000 for 10,000 kilos. But the Germans offered frs. 50,000, a surplus gain of frs. 45,000, which the French producers could not resist. French sulphurate of carbon was later returned to the French trenches in the shape of poison gas fifteen times as deadly as chlorine.

Co-operation has been developed into a fine art among the governments, the banks, and the industries of war. Countries with no such industries have obtained loans if they promised to buy their arms from the lender. This traffic has cost the thrifty French nation a pretty penny. The best known example is perhaps the French loan to Imperial Russia, a predestined loss as predicted by Jaurés. Another just as glaring an example is the French financial venture in furnishing means for the re-armament of Hungary, while at the same time a French general was complaining to the French Senate because Hungary was breaking the Versailles Treaty and was already able to raise an army of 300,000 against Czechoslovakia who was an ally of France.

The capital invested in industries of war is in great part the capital of the nation and involves the commonwealth of the people to a large extent. The French firm Schneider Creusot, for example, owns coal and iron mines, blast-furnaces and steel-works, munition factories and banks in England, France and Italy, as well as in nine other European countries. When at the end of the Great War the English Vickers and the Armstrong group amalgamated, they had, so to speak, monopolised the entire armament industry of the British Empire, and had moreover a controlling interest in all shipbuilding wharves, railways, bridge and road constructions, and all other sorts of engineering enterprises, and—after still another amalgamation—also the English steel-corporation.

As already mentioned, Schneider Creusot has subsidiaries in England, Italy and nine other European countries. Branches of the Vickers concern may be found all over the world: in the Terni Works of Italy, the steel works of Japan, in Ireland, Spain, Holland, Poland, and so on. The head manager, the abovementioned Sir Herbert Lawrence, is also the director of the Bank of Rumania.

The Mitsui concern is the biggest munition factory of the Far East. It possesses steel works, oil companies, aircraft plants, steamship companies, mines, banks, newspaper concerns and large electric power plants. It is also the world's foremost producer of spun and woven silk. The Mitsui group controls more than 60 per cent. of Japan's commerce.

I.G. Farbenindustrie means to Germany what the Mitsui concern means to Japan. It presents the most striking example of the enormous resources and industrial enterprises that are at the disposal of these big concerns.

In 1916 seven large chemical works formed a cartel. They secured a loan of 300-350 million gold marks and erected the Luna Works.

They manufactured 400,000 tons of nitrogen, which is essential to the production of high explosives, artificial silks, and chemical manures.

They repaid the loan in paper money, its value being at the time of the inflation 25·2 millions. Thus the concern gained 275·325 million gold marks on the transaction. The produced nitrogen yields about 300 per cent. in profit. The liquid coal they are now making costs them not more than 80 Reichsmarks to produce and sells for 800. What they make out of medicine is still more fantastic. One kilo of Salvarsan, for instance, costs them 200 RM. and sells for 8,000.

In every country where the war industry is a main factor it has tied up a whole lot of other industries, first of all the four most essential to warfare: iron and steel mills, chemical and electrical works, and the oil refineries. But industries connected with the four already mentioned are also controlled by them: mines, engineering enterprises, railroads, banks and newspaper concerns. And finally, all the factories that, although engaged in such peaceful enterprises as producing perfumery and artificial silks, may easily be converted into makers of poison gases and high explosives.

The giant trusts with their enormous capitals and their armies of workers are of course a power in the state. They are in fact those higher considerations which no government can escape. In 1928 a League of Nations commission proposed that the governments should forward to the Secretary-General a list of the concessions granted to armament industries, including a description of the materials involved and also the names and addresses of the concessionaires. The

English Government replied: "We have no such information, and it is highly improbable that those who have it will disclose it. We have no power to force them to give us this information, and very few governments would dare to introduce a law that obliged them to do so."

In the industry of war one meets the same efforts toward concentration as everywhere else in the capitalist community. A trust is no longer a co-operation of a series of enterprises producing the same goods, and thus able to control the price within the boundaries of a certain country. A modern trust is a section of the entire economic structure, embracing all sorts of businesses and commercial enterprises and reaching far beyond the boundaries of any special country.

The mutual relation of the trusts is a combination of competition and collaboration, both subordinate to the sole aim of the concerns in question, namely the profits.

We have a fine example of this co-operation in the agreement between I.G. Farbenindustrie and the French Ministry of War and the French Company for Nitrogen Research. The Germans handed over all their patents to France and promised not to set up competing factories in France for the next 15 years. They even went so far as to send German civil engineers and chemists to France to teach her how to utilise the patents to the best advantage and to obtain the most effective poison gases.

These events coincided with the German non-violent resistance to the French military occupation of the Ruhr district.

To get an idea of how a competitive battle whose outcome cannot be decided by monetary means may lead to war, one has but to consider the question of oil.

From 1904 to the present day oil has been the all-important or, as in the case of the Chaco War, the sole reason of at least twenty wars or revolts.

The two giant trusts, Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell, are by no means particular or over conscientious in their methods.

The Matteotti murder case is known to everybody. It was generally surmised that he was gotten rid of solely on account of his anti-Fascist ideas. This however is only half the truth. The following details will complete the picture.

The oil sources of Italy are scanty and she is entirely dependent on the two Great Powers, the U.S.A. and England, for oil.

When Fascism came to power both these countries tried to get the monopoly of the Italian trade. Standard Oil knew the value of bribery and found its way to Finzi, the Fascist minister, who knew it too. And so it was Standard Oil that obtained the coveted monopoly.

But while the manager of one of Standard Oil's subsidiaries, Sinclair, was already nourishing beautiful dreams of royal purple as king of Albany, a new angle was added to the matter.

The Shell concern (Sir Henry Deterding) had also long been waiting for a fat, juicy piece of the pie, and was not to be cheated out of it. And England had, through the Persian Oil Company, held the monopoly in Albany since 1920.

The British Government, who possessed the controlling vote in Persian Oil, began to move. Revolution immediately followed, the Government was overthrown, and England's favourite, Achmed Zogu, elected himself dictator.

Meanwhile, the Shell Corporation had not been idle in Italy. They had got hold of a copy of the correspondence concerning the bribes and handed it over to the Socialist Party. Matteotti was commissioned to make a complaint in the Chamber.

Carrying the documents in his portfolio, he set out on his errand and was murdered en route by a Fascist mob, whose leader was one Dumini.

Who had told the Fascists that Matteotti was in possession of the proofs? It has never been revealed, but one may easily make a guess when contemplating the consequences of this murder.

After the assassination of Matteotti the Shell Corporation and the British Empire had the situation well in hand. Publications of the bribes might have been fatal to Fascism just then, and Mussolini was compelled to annul the Sinclair contract and leave the monopoly in the hands of the Shell Corporation, while the English Government's interests in Albany were well guarded by Achmed Zogu. "The dagger of Dumini was hardened in the fire of American oil," writes the Swiss Socialist, Reinhard, in his pamphlet "Oil."

The first real support rendered to Hitler came from the most powerful man in the armament industry, Thyssen. No wonder. It was all important to him to see in power the man who in his book "Mein Kampf" pondered the question "How best to instil into the minds of 60 million people a common feeling of shame and hate till it bursts into an ever-spreading conflagration out of whose heat will rise one

single, steeled intent and one single cry: "Give us back our arms!"

The author of "Hitler over Europe," Earnest Henri, describes in this book how Thyssen arranged everything. He persuaded the industry to pay a certain amount to the electoral campaign of the National-Socialist Party by levying a special tax on all coal and steel works, and, so as not to damage these industries, the price of coal was raised. Thus, the entire German population paid for Hitler's election campaign without knowing it.

The very first man outside of Germany that offered Hitler his assistance was no other than Sir Henry Deterding. Soviets had confiscated his oil properties in Russia and both he and Rockefeller had suffered enormous losses by Soviet Russia's oil competition in Europe. Communism was fast spreading in Germany, forcing her Socialist Government to favour Russia.

Deterding saw in Hitler a splendid ally who had immediately put an end to the intercourse between the Red Army of Soviet Russia and the German Reichswehr.

A re-armed Germany with new gigantic road constructions and with a flourishing automobile industry would enable Deterding to reconquer a fair part of the European market for the Shell Oil.

Big Finance of the U. S. A. was also beginning to look askance at the German situation. Five bankers, representing Standard Oil and Shell and others, were summoned to a conference in Wall Street. The opinion was that only a political revolt in Germany would be able to make better conditions for capitalist interests, and it was therefore resolved to send a trusted commissioner to Germany to negotiate with Hitler.

To the German nation Nazism means the same as does Fascism to Italy: an exploiting system to fill the coffers of big industry, the militarisation of its entire population, and the standard of living reduced to its lowest level.

Industry, collectively speaking, has woven a net that spans the world, each single industry being but a knot in the fabric. The big trusts are stockholders of the banks, and the bank directors hold shares in the trusts. This system forms an invulnerable bulwark against the non-possessing classes and is never weakened by competition.

Whenever the munition industries claim that war is unavoidable one may rest assured that all industries will profit by it.

In this capitalist world there no longer exists any sort of enterprise whose nationalism goes further than the consideration of profit. If the war industry seems to provoke public opinion more than the others, it is only because it offers the most glaring examples. But the atmosphere that breeds war is not created by it. On the contrary, the war industry is the effect. The capitalist system alone is responsible for that atmosphere. For a commonwealth that is not founded on necessities but on profit must inevitably lead to war.

In the hands of capitalist power national feeling has been shaped into a weapon, altho this power does not even know the meaning of the word: national feeling, nor for that matter of its caricature: nationalism.

They are the unscrupulous powers representing those higher considerations that no government can escape, and they will finally decide the fate of Spain, in spite of her efforts and glorious heroism.



“IF WINTER COMES—BENGAL PARLIAMENT FOR EVER”

BY

“ORPHAN OF THE STORM”

THE long nightmare of the first session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly is just over. Time has now come for the historian to take stock of its achievements. Bards will no doubt, in days to come, sing paeans of praise about its beneficent activities to generations yet unborn. Psychologists will attempt an analysis of its intellectual aroma; philosophers will yet attempt a distinction between predestination and freedom of will.

The unwarranted child of Sir Samuel Hoare saw the light of day on the 1st April, 1937—an auspicious day according to the English calendar. Situate in front of the ever green Eden Gardens, on the banks of the sacred Ganges, hemmed in between the Government House and our Palace of Justice called the High Court buildings, the Bengal Parliament House raises its domed head. It cost the tax-payers of Bengal a small sum of 30 lacs of rupees. Shut out from light and air, defying the sweltering heat of the plains, living under artificial cooling arrangements—which sometimes fail—the Bengal Legislative Chamber has its habitation there perpetually reminding one of the size of the earth. The cushioned seats of members represent mythology and classical history. At the head of the round-table conference sits the majestic throne of the Hon'ble Mr. Speaker: the canopy over his head with a tiger painted on it, snarls at members who sit in the amphitheatre feasting their eyes on the glories of the gladiatorial combats so often enacted in the House. Towards the right of the Speaker are located the world-renowned Treasury Benches. There sit in all their glory and majesty with the Captain-General Mr. Fazlul Huq's sporting eleven. No. 1 Treasury Bench is occupied by the Chief Minister and the Minister for Finance—symbolical probably of the fifty-fifty arrangement in Bengal. The backmost bench intended for the Treasury is occupied by two

Honourable Ministers—Mr. Mukunda Behari Mallick representing the newly coined scheduled castes of Bengal and Mr. Sahid Suhrawardy, the great Minister for Labour in the province. On it also sit two Moslem ladies of the Coalition Party probably to give support to the motley Ministry in their hours of trial and despair. Towards the right of the Treasury Benches are arranged seats for the Moslems of the Coalition Party—the “brothers-in-faith” of the Chief Minister. These benches present a variegated hue to the House. Gentlemen in immaculate “achkans,” in English clothes defying the cuts of the tailors of Bond Street, and gentlemen with the fez and turban delight the hearts of our popular Ministers. Beside them sit the mixed crowd of nondescripts, plutocrats and democrats in various shape, size and colour. On the left of the Speaker are stretched the Congress Benches; clad in snow-white “khaddar” the members perched on them look mystic, samite, wonderful. They represent the spectacle of a united front. Towards their left sit the members of the Proja Party. They are yet under two flags. They are regarded as the rump by the Coalition Moslem Party, and are a constant source of trouble and anxiety to the Government of the day. The Chief Minister is very unwilling to recognise their independent existence. His methods are always prophylactic. He is ever anxious to see that infection of rebellion may not spread in his camp. Towards the left of the Proja Party are seated the Europeans flanked by Anglo-Indians, Indian-Christians and several members who are either individualists or independents.

“Pride in their port, defiance in their eye.

You see the Lords of humankind seated by.”

The first business of the new Assembly was to elect its Speaker and Deputy Speaker. The Congress Party supported the candidature of Kumar Shib Sekhaheswar Roy, a stalwart member of the old Legislature. He was not a member of the Congress Party but he secured the confidence of the Congress partly because he was for some time President of the old Bengal Legislative Council and partly because, alone of all public men in Bengal, he had the courage to resign his seat from the Ministry of the day. The Moslem Group in the Assembly nominated Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq, C.I.E. Notwithstanding the romance of the uncontested return of Mr. Huq from a

Moslem constituency, his co-religionists could not secure him a place amongst Mr. Fazlul Huq's sporting eleven. We do not know the charges against him : like many others he was and is a good Moslem offering his daily prayers to God Almighty with deep devotion and sincere religious conviction. He held the portfolio of Education in the province. He was, thus, one who was translated from Log Cabin to White House, yet he failed to secure recognition from his co-followers of the faith. The numerous addresses of welcome which saluted his rising sun when installed as Minister, creaked and writhed in agony. In the contest, Mr. Azizul Huq got the consolation prize offered by the Ministry—the Speakership.

The second act of the Legislature was to consider an adjournment motion moved on behalf of the Congress Party to draw public attention to the grievances of numerous strikers in the jute mills round about Calcutta. The adjournment motion was talked out. Solemn assurances were given by the Chief Minister and Minister for Labour that the just and legitimate grievances of the strikers and their Trade Unions would be redressed. No assurance was forthcoming that the machinery of conciliation boards would be set in motion ; and the solemn promises were in course of time alleged to have been duly broken. After two days, the Assembly was prorogued.

25th of April 1937, is a red-letter day in the history of the Assembly. The Finance Minister, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar introduced his much advertised budget. Newspapers in the province blazoned forth the glad tidings of a new Gospel—a surplus budget. The people of Bengal wondered if a wizard had come who by the touch of his magic wand could cure Bengal's pernicious financial anaemia since the days of the iniquitous Meston award. Mr. Sarkar read his speech in his inimitable sing-song-voice with a tumblerful of water in between for three long hours. As a piece of composition, Mr. Sarkar's manuscript peroration did not lack the fire of a lover—the imagery of a painter—the vision of a poet—the denunciation of a prophet. Mr. Sarkar delivered his Funeral oration on the Congress work, on Congress workers and Congress sufferers. He dilated on the virtues of the doubtful gift of Pandora's balloting urn, on the prospects of industrial and commercial development in the province, on the existing and prospective sweet relationship between labour and capital, on the canker of terrorism in politics. He shed gallons of tears on the needs of

compulsory primary education throughout the province, on improvement of its irrigational facilities, its inland waterways, and sang a tragic song on agriculture and the poor agriculturists. "Behind the plough," said the honourable Minister, "is the man with the plough, with his ignorance and superstition, his crusted traditions and his rusted implements, his thriftlessness and his tragic fatalism." Discussion on the budget which Mr. Speaker limited in the case of private members from 15 minutes to 3 minutes revealed the fact that the much advertised story of the surplus was a myth due to acceptance by the Government of India of the Niemeyer Report. The liabilities of the province to the extent of more than 8 crores together with annual interest charges had been wiped out and the re-allotment of the export duty on jute gave to Bengal an increase in revenue to the extent of 45 lacs of rupees this year. The much abused bureaucratic Government spent last year the sum of about 11 crores and 90 lacs out of a total revenue of about 11 crores and 95 lacs. The reformed administration under our self-styled popular Ministers proposed to spend for this year the sum of 12 crores 20 lacs out of an expected revenue of about 12 crores 54 lacs. A simple process of mathematical addition and subtraction yielded a surplus of 34 lacs. May propaganda live long ! Mr. Sarkar's budget did not propose to spend one single farthing for his first article of faith, namely, free and compulsory primary education. He did not effect any retrenchment in the top-heavy administration ; he made no proposal for economy. He did not visualize the reduction of additional taxation to the extent roughly of 2 crores and 68 lacs which this province has since 1921-22 been called upon to pay as the price of a hypocritical pseudo-democracy. The Congress Party offered suggestions and criticisms to the financial proposals. Suggestions were relegated by the popular ministry to the category of oblivion. The most valiant reply to criticisms was an earnest plea on the part of the Ministry's lack of time.

" Time's grey minions, pleased you see
Time, your Master, governs me."

Four months of arduous labour on the cool heights of Darjeeling with an entire paraphernalia at the poor tax-payer's expense produced the proverbial 'mou-e.' To the expenditure side of the budget must be added the total cost of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy

in the Gangetic valley: that cost would include the salary and maintenance charges of the Statutory Public Services Commission, the salaries, the allowances the remuneration of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, the President, the Deputy President, the Ministers and the members of both the Houses of the Legislature. These items of expenditure, when added together, would saddle the province with an annual recurring financial liability of over thirty lakhs till this constitution is mended or ended. The ministry, by Bill, proposed their own salary; the Chief Minister was to get the sum of 3,000 rupees per month and his other ten colleagues 2,500 rupees per month in addition a monthly allowance ranging between 400 and 500 rupees. The members of the two Houses of the Legislature, the Government Bill proposed, would receive, each of them, a monthly salary of 125 rupees and, in addition, a daily allowance of 6 rupees, when the Legislature was in session. The salary of the Speaker was fixed at 2,000 rupees with an additional allowance of 500 rupees a month. In vain did members from the Congress Benches table proposals for the deletion of the salary of the members; in vain did they propose the reduction of the salaries and allowances of the Ministers, the Speaker, and the President, to the Congress figure of Rupees 500 plus an allowance every month. The Government of the day was not prepared either to listen to appeal or to reason. The ministry and its supporters attempted to drown the Congress proposals in contempt and ridicule. Then the Legislative Assembly was entertained with a strange constitutional spectacle of remorse of conscience engendered by the revolt amongst the great Ministers and their followers. The very night that the Finance Minister was piloting the Ministers', the Speaker's and the Members' Emolument Bill with pride at the prow and pleasure at the helm, the Minister for Labour supported an increase in the salaries and the allowances of the members. His proposal was to increase the salary of each member from 125 rupees to 150 rupees a month and to increase the daily allowance to Rs. 12-8 as. each member per effective day of sitting. In a moment of self-forgetfulness compulsorily liquidated into self-denial, the Ministry dropped the proposals in the bill for monthly allowances. Probably without the concurrence of the Speaker, who was presiding over the question of his own salary, the Ministry dropped like hot potatoes the proposal for his monthly allowance as well. There was a guffaw of sardonic laughter in high Olympus! The salaries and allowances of

members were increased to the figure proposed by Mr. Suhrawardy—the Minister for Labour. In vain did the Congress Benches sigh and exclaim: “For Greeks a blush for Greece a tear.” The followers of the Faithful laughed. The Congress Benches swore! “He laughs best who laughs last.”

During the session two adjournment motions were moved from the Congress Benches for the purpose of censuring the Government over the question of repatriation of the hunger-strikers in the Andamans and for focussing the attention of the public upon the detenus. The Minister for Home Affairs, Khaja Sir Najimuddin—he, indeed does bear a weighty and a mighty name—circulated printed literature in order to prove that the proverbial seventh heaven had come down on the emerald isles called the Andamans. With his holy staff he preached the doctrine of Law and Order justified the denial of fundamental rights to the citizens in the name of the age-worn tale of the political expediency, in detaining men and women indefinitely imprisoned without charge—without a trial. In pious anger and in holy grief the weighty frame of the mighty Minister shook when he attempted to prove through the medium of the printing press that on an allowance of 10 rupees a month a detenu could obtain all necessities and all the luxuries of life—his books, his clothes and last of all his food. What a menu did the noble Minister place on the table of the persecuted detenu? Turkey and fowl, ice-cream and porridge—rich repast which Dionysus or Bacchus of Greek mythology or Indra or Janardana in the days of old in Aryyabarta might very well envy. Plethora of promises was once more given to be followed blindly in proper time by smooth excuses—by the prodigal circulation of stories of deliberate conflict of jurisdiction between the Government of Bengal and the Government of India.

Two matters of pristine educational interest riveted the attention of our Legislators during the session. The one referred to the use of “Lotus and Sree” on the crest and on the seal of the University of Calcutta. The Chief Minister explained to a breathlessly worshipful audience that neither ‘Sree’ nor ‘lotus’ was by itself objectionable to Islam but that the chemical or even the mechanical combination of both was idolatry and therefore opposed to the fundamental tenets of Islam. In his religious zeal and in his desire to strengthen the bonds of his ramshackle party, the Chief Minister forgot the lessons of history, could not understand the indelible facts unearthed by the science of

numismatics. The Calcutta University, we hear, on pain of forfeiture of the annual subsidy granted by the Legislature has been called upon to explain this grave dereliction of duty. The autumnal clouds whispered the appointment of a Royal Commission for solving this insoluble problem of the crest and the seal. We hope and trust that God Almighty may not convert the seal into a hippopotamus!

One of the Government Colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University—the Rajshahi College, hoary with the sanctity of age, came up next for discussion. An adjournment motion was tabled by the Congress Party. Owing to difference of opinion between the Hindu and the Moslem students living in the hostels attached to the College and the tactlessness on the part of the officiating Hindu Principal, the Ministry of Education without reference either to the Governing Body of the College or to the University of Calcutta had passed a 'firman' closing down the college *sine die*. The Chief Minister's replies to the criticisms were characteristic. The Rajshahi College, it was argued, enjoyed large endowments from rich Hindu Zaminder benefactors. These Zaminders, said the irresistible logic of the Chief Minister, were the creatures of the Musalman rule, therefore the endowments given by them owed their paternity to the Muslim rulers who have long vanished from the pages of history. The institution is a Government College. Since the majority of the people in this province are Muslims, therefore the college which enjoys Government patronage is a college maintained by monies paid as revenue by the predominant section of the population—the Muslims. Had the Chief Minister lived a few centuries away from our time a seventh system of Hindu philosophy might have been born. We need not yet despair.

The most important act of the Legislature was the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Legislation. In the noble desire for achieving glory and fame and for the betterment of the condition of the actual tillers of the soil, the present Government—the Government of the day in Bengal which may justly be described in the classical phrase of Disraeli as an "organised hypocrisy"—hurried through the Legislature a measure of first rate magnitude without skill, and at the sacrifice of every single principle of legislation and jurisprudence. The original purpose of the Government was to refer the proposed bill to a select committee. Sir Bijoyprasad Singha Roy, the Revenue Minister, in fact proposed a select committee of only 34 members—the committee did not include one single representative from that section of the Proja Party which

is regarded as the rump by orthodoxy. The Congress naturally entered a demurrer not only against the inflated size of the proposed committee but also against the omission of the names of that section of the Proja Party which sits towards its left. The result was that the followers of the Faithful resolved upon the rushing of the bill through the Legislature without expert knowledge, without legislative guidance, without mature deliberation and anxious consideration. The pilot, Sir Bijoyprasad Singha Roy, torn between qualms of conscience, if any, and the dire necessity of sticking to his post, led his ship astray to shoals and shallow miseries. The bill, as framed by or under the supervision of the Revenue Minister, has suffered such mutilation that as passed by the Assembly it cannot recognise its identity or its paternity. Pride and dignity, the universally accepted principle of cabinet solidarity, constitutional propriety, legislative competence, were all sacrificed on the altar of the Moloch of cupidity. The bill has passed the Legislature. As forcefully pointed out by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Sarat Bose, it confers no benefit whatever on the toiling millions—the actual tillers of the soil: it does not ameliorate the condition of the under-riot. The zemindar has indeed been smothered; his right of pre-emption, his right to ‘nazarana’ and ‘salami’ his right to interest at the uneconomical high rate of 12 per cent. per annum has, it is true, been taken away but like a tiger mauled, he writhes, he is not yet dead. Longstanding tradition, custom, usage, sanctity of agreements have been legislated away in a cataract of frenzy. The Finance Minister’s “plough-men” behind the plough with his “crusted traditions and his rusted implements,” homeward plods his weary way and leaves the world to darkness and to the ministry. To the congratulatory messages which the ears of Sir Bijoy Prosad welcomed on the night of 30th September, 1937, his reply might just as well have been

“Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean

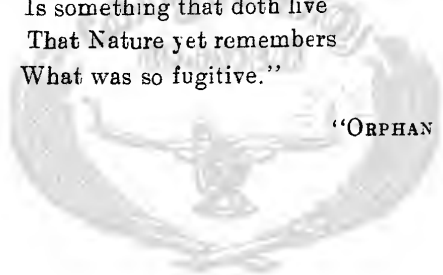
Tears, from the depth of some divine despair.”

The last important measure in the Assembly this session was brought forward by the Minister for Labour. He had been at great pains for some time past over the Maternity Bill. This bill has been referred by the Assembly to a select committee of expert gynaecologists in the Legislature. Dame rumour tells us that the Congress members who are always regarded as barren critics by the Government of the

day and its followers will sponsor a paternity bill in the next session. Whether the purpose of the bill will be to encourage more children as in Nazi Germany or in Fascist Italy or whether its purpose would be to protect fathers from the unwarranted ravages of the society for the prevention of cruelty towards animals, futurity alone can say. The framers of the proposed measure might just as well seek the assistance of the famous French Jurist Girard around whose Laureate brow the world-famous French Academy wove its crown of wild olive in his chapter on "Patria Potestas" (paternal power). Girard makes the cynical observation: "maternity is a question of fact, paternity is a question of opinion." So the sun behind the clouds is dancing once more, so the eastern breeze bears within its womb the coming winter, so the ripples on the river Ganges are playing about. The Bengal Legislative Assembly stands prorogued—

"Oh joy ! that in our embers,
Is something that doth live
That Nature yet remembers
What was so fugitive."

"ORPHAN OF THE STORM"



A MAN OF MYSTERY : APAJI ANGRIA

PROFESSOR S. N. SEN, M.A., PH.D.

A VERITABLE man of mystery was Apaji, son of Kanhoji Angria, lord of Kolaba, chief admiral of the Maratha fighting fleet and "scourge of the western coast." Two of his letters addressed to Brahmendra Swami, the holy man of Dhavdashi, are still extant.¹ He was specifically mentioned by name in a letter addressed to the Peshwa early in 1748.² He joined the Mudagad expedition and fought against his brother Tulaji. Yet we know next to nothing about him. The saint of Dhavdashi was not likely to take the trouble of addressing Apaji about grants of rent-free lands unless he was in a position to confirm them. He would not be recommended to the Peshwa as a fit person for His Highness's patronage had he been a mere man of straw. Apparently he played a part, however insignificant, in the complicated history of his times ; but strangely enough, his name finds no place in the official account of the Angria family submitted to the land alienation commissioner,³ and we seek in vain any reference to Apaji in the chronicle of the Angrias (*Hakikat*), ascribed to Dabir,⁴ a family servant. How can we explain this anomaly ? How could a son of Kanhoji, who made a bid for power against so formidable a rival as Tulaji, be entirely forgotten by the posterity ?

Kanhoji was a much married man and he left a numerous progeny. Six of his sons, born in and out of wedlock, are known by name. Reference is made in Dabir's *Hakikat* to Sekhoji, Sambhaji, Manaji, Tulaji and Dhondji, while the official family history asserts that by his first wife Kanhoji had two sons, Sekhoji and Sambhaji, his second wife bore him two others, Manaji and Tulaji ; Yesaji, Dhondji and others were his natural sons.⁵ Was Apaji one of those others whose names were either forgotten or deemed unworthy of mention when the official history was compiled ? Or should we identify Apaji

¹ Parasnis, *Brahmendra Swami*, pp. 207-208.

² *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 24, p. 19.

³ *Kaifiyats Yadis, etc.*, pp. 1-25.

⁴ *Angre yanchi Hakikat* in Parasnis's *Italias Sangraha*.

⁵ *Kaifiyats Yadis*, pp. 4-5.

with one of the six Angria brothers mentioned above ? The problem has engaged the attention of Maratha historians for sometime past, but I prefer to leave it alone for the present. Suffice to say that Rajwade tried to identify Apaji with Manaji, while Sardesai makes a tentative suggestion that Yesaji and Apaji were probably identical persons. It may be added here that according to the official history, Kanhoji's natural sons including Yesaji and Dhondji had originally been attached to Manaji at Kolaba, but Dhondji and Yesaji joined in a conspiracy against Manaji which ended in a failure. As a consequence the disloyal brothers were thrown into prison and Yesaji was deprived of his sight. Subsequently, however, the blind man succeeded in effecting his escape. He sought asylum with the Portuguese of Chaul (Revdanda) where he was joined by his wife and children.¹ Yesaji's son Babu Rao, more fortunate than his father, usurped the principality of Kolaba with the support of Sindhia after the death of Manaji's son Raghuji.

Marathi chronicles, therefore, offer no clue as to Appaji's identity and throw no light on his life and exploits. Luckily he was not equally ignored by contemporary Portuguese writers, and a brief account of Apaji, published at Lisbon as early as 1750, may be reproduced here for what it is worth. The author, Jose Freire Monteroyo Mascarenhas treated of Indian affairs in his *Epanaphora Indica*, the first part of which appeared in 1746, the second and third parts followed in 1747, the fourth saw the light next year (1748), the fifth in 1750 and the sixth part was published two years later in 1752. This interesting work might have been continued further, for Mascarenhas proposed to give an account of what happened in India during the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Castello Novo, who did not vacate office till 1750, but the subsequent parts of the *Epanaphora*, if ever published, have not been preserved.

According to Mascarenhas,² Kanhoji had two wives, of whom the first was Sekhoji and Sambhaji's mother, while the second bore Appaji and another son who remains nameless. According to the Hindu law Apaji should have succeeded his elder brother Sambhaji in the principalities of Kolaba and Gheria, but he was robbed of his patrimony by two bastards, Tulaji and Manaji. When Shahu concluded a treaty of partition with

¹ *Kaifiyats Yadis*, p. 7.

² For the entire narrative see *Epanaphora Indica*, Part V, pp. 28-40.

his cousin, Sambhaji of Kolhapur, the overlordship of a part of the Angrian principality was assigned to the latter. But Tulaji refused to acknowledge his rights and declined to pay him tributes. Sambhaji, unable to enforce his claims proposed an alliance with the Portuguese Viceroy against Tulaji, but the Portuguese Government were not in a position to accept his offer at that moment. Failing to secure their co-operation, Sambhaji turned to Shahu, who advised him to make a common cause with Apaji. It was settled at the time that Sambhaji should wage war against Tulaji by land jointly with Apaji Angria and the Sawant of Wari, while the Portuguese should be induced to undertake a naval expedition against Gheria. Not content with formulating this scheme, Shahu commissioned Dom Antonio José Henriques, the Portuguese agent at Satara, to proceed to Goa and persuade the Viceroy to participate in the project. But the services of the Portuguese fleet were urgently needed elsewhere as it was necessary to convoy the merchant fleet from the south and the north, and the Viceroy politely excused himself. Tulaji, however, realised the gravity of his situation and decided to remove Apaji by means fair or foul. Some of his trusty followers pretended to desert Tulaji on some suitable pretexts and were readily welcomed by Apaji. They availed themselves of the earliest opportunity of executing their fell design. The murder of Apaji naturally incensed Shahu and he incited the chief of Wari to fight Tulaji. The campaign, however, ended in Angria's favour. Shahu then summoned Tulaji to Satara. Tulaji paid a visit to the royal court where a judicious distribution of presents procured him an unqualified pardon, after which he safely returned to his head quarters at Gheria.

Such, in short, is the account of Apaji Angria, his claims to Kanhoji's fief, his association with the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, and his tragic end which Mascarenhas inserted in his narrative of Indian events in 1748. The story is not so phantastic as it may appear at first sight. According to the family history, Tulaji and Manaji were their father's legitimate issue but, as Mr. Sardesai has observed, the legitimacy of Tulaji and his brothers must remain an open question.¹ The official history of the family is by no means infallible, for it errs about the date of Kanhoji's death.² Mr. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar

¹ Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Vibhag*, Vol. I, p. 265.

² *Kaifiyats*, p. 5, says that Kanhoji died in 1731 whereas he passed away on 20th J. ne, 1729. See Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 212.

Research Institute has recently published a paper on the Mudagad expedition in which his ancestor played a prominent part.¹ In that enterprise Apaji co-operated with the Panta Amatya of Bavada and the Savant of Wari. The Pant, Amatya was one of the principal ministers of Sambhaji of Kolhapur, and if Dabir's chronicle is to be believed, he had some sort of claim to Ratnagiri, one of the principal naval stations of Tulaji with which the latter refused to part.² The Marquis of Casello Novo, better known as the Marquis of Aloona, admits that Sambhaji had about 1748 proposed an alliance with him against Tulaji and he also refers to the "recent reduction of Masura"³ by the Savant. Reference has been made to the reduction of Tulaji's stronghold of Mudagar by the joint efforts of Apaji, the Savant of Wari, Bhagavant Rao Amatya (of Bavde) and the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad. In a letter, addressed to the Peshwa early in 1748, the writer urges Apaji's claim to the Peshwa's support and also refers to Tulaji's intended visit to the royal court.⁴ So far, Mascarenhas' narrative is substantially corroborated by independent evidence and the story of Apaji's murder may not be unfounded, for the Portuguese writer seems to have been uncommonly well-versed in Maratha affairs.

As to Apaji's identity, Mascarenhas offers but a negative clue. As he mentions Sekhoji, Sambhaji, Tulaji and Manaji besides Apaji, it follows that Apaji cannot reasonably be identified with any one of those four. That leaves two alternatives. Apaji may either be identified with Yesaji or Dhondji, or he may be one of those sons of Kanhoji who remain nameless in all the chronicles, Marathi or foreign, contemporary or otherwise, hitherto available to us.

¹ *Bombay University Journal*, Vol. V, Part IV, pp. 31-54.

² *Angre Yanchi Hakikat* p. 11.

³ Sen, *Studies in Indian History*, p. 212, p. 205.

⁴ *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar.*, Vol. 24, p. 19.

REFUTATION OF IDEALISM.¹

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY, M.A.

MY real aim is to examine Kant's manner of refuting idealism; but as that would unduly restrict the scope of the present enquiry I prefer the wider, or rather indeterminate, expression and entitle it as Refutation of Idealism.

At the outset I should like to clear up certain points. It seems as if one who sets out to refute idealism cannot agree to call himself an idealist. And although it is not safe to dogmatise what sort of philosophy on the positive side is indicated in the rejection of idealism one naturally feels that the opponents of idealism are the realists, and in discussing refutation of idealism we are usually led to think of the realist's plan of attack. But when we come to Kant's treatment of the problem there is a strange spectacle opened before us. It is not as a transcendental realist that he proceeds to attack idealism. He styles himself a transcendental idealist and makes this idealism the base of his operations against what ordinarily passes for idealism.

There are before us two distinct ways of exposing the precariousness of the idealist's position. One is associated with Kant and the other with the modern realist. I am inclined to believe that the right of denouncing idealism properly belongs to one who himself avows idealism of some sort. In the light of this the professional realist must be in an awkward situation when he moves forward in his campaign against idealism.

The task before me in the present connection may be summed up briefly in the following questions:

1. Which one of the two rival doctrines of idealism and realism is in a happier position to refute the sort of idealism that needs refutation?
2. Is idealism necessary to lead an attack against idealism?
- and lastly
3. How far does Kant keep loyal to the idealistic traditions in exposing the weakness of idealism itself?

¹ Read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society.

If idealism as a philosophic doctrine is offensive and disappointing the problem is put to the student to determine the proper mould in which to cast his philosophy to keep clear of the taint of idealism. Kant claims the credit of having found out the longed-for mould,—a thing which even the keenest realist failed to discover. I want to examine whether such a claim is anything more than a mere boast on the part of the critical philosopher.

Roughly speaking there are, according to Kant, two types of idealism,—Formal and Material. The formal type is what Kant himself was led to adopt after a careful investigation of the constitution of the real in so far as it is an object of knowledge. The vital problem before him was not concerning the ontological issue of the nature of the real. He was indifferent to such an inquiry. What primarily engaged his attention was how reality as known is necessarily constituted. In investigating this question it became apparent that knowledge with its characteristics of universality and necessity must be *a priori* and at the same time it must refer to an object. The key-problem with Kant thus came to be formulated in the following manner: How *a priori* cognitions have objective validity?

It made him draw a line between the formal and the material element of knowledge. The material element is received through the faculty of sensibility as the manifold data of sense and is independently grounded, whilst the formal principles through which the unformed data of sense are organised into a well-ordered unity have their origin in the knowing subject himself and are *a priori*. This is how Kant formulates his doctrine of formal idealism. The significant point in Formal idealism lies in this that while on one side it maintains the ideality of the formal principles of knowledge it denies on the other side, and with equal force, that the object of knowledge can be either resolved into an idea or identified with the independent thing-in-itself. By his formal idealism Kant set himself in opposition to the standpoint alike of material idealism and of transcendental realism.

By ordinary idealism Kant usually means material idealism. What material idealist stands for will have to be gone into carefully, for without this we cannot appreciate the point in Kant's Refutation of idealism. The expression material idealism is vague. Its use was necessitated by the demand for a term to mark out the position of those usually styled idealists from Kant's own standpoint. Inasmuch as Kant conceded ideality to the formal principles of knowledge

alone, it was fit and proper that his position be named as formal idealism. As contrasted with formal idealism material idealism signifies the view that draws no line between the formal and material factors of knowledge and treats the object of knowledge, whole and entire, as ideal, *i.e.*, representations of consciousness. Interpreted in this manner it becomes intelligible why thinkers so widely divergent as Plato and Descartes, Berkeley and Hume should all be ranked as idealists.

In defining idealism Kant does not stick to the same form of expression always. Sometimes he describes it as embodying the assertion that 'nothing but thinking entities exist. On other occasions he writes: 'the position of all genuine idealists from the Eleatics to Bishop Berkeley is contained in the formula: "All cognitions through the senses and experience is nothing but mere illusion and only in the ideas of pure understanding and reason is there truth." And on another occasion he proceeds to state that the central point of idealism is not in the denial of the existence of outer objects of the senses, but in holding that we can never, by way of any possible experience, be completely certain of their reality.

The contention of idealists underlying all these varied forms of expressions may be described as emphasising the reality of spiritual entities and a consequent distrust of the testimony of the senses concerning things of the outside world. Whatever the senses reveal regarding outer objects is sheer illusion, on the other hand we have complete certainty of all that is apprehended by ideas of pure understanding. Ordinary idealism thus covers three distinct tenets:

(1) Spirit alone is real, (2) true knowledge, *i.e.*, knowledge of reality, is possible through understanding and reason independently of any aid of sensibility, and lastly, (3) inner experience, *viz.*, ideas and representations of consciousness carries immediate certainty with it, whereas outer experience of things and objects is problematic and unreliable. How these points connect with one another I need not discuss at present.

Kant's refutation does not touch the first point. He is not concerned to dispute the proposition that reality is spiritual or that spirit alone exists. From the standpoint of critical philosophy such a question is utterly irrelevant. But the central significance of the critical philosophy is developed in the attempt to check the soundness of the other two tenets. In the first place it was hard for the critical philosopher to abide by the longstanding tradition that through ideas of

pure understanding and reason we comprehend things as they are in themselves. In the next place it sounded queer that we are on sure ground in respect of inner experience but not so in respect of outer experience. To understand the first part we have to go into the entire argument of the transcendental Aesthetic and Analytic, whilst in regard to the second part we are required to consider the doctrine of outer and inner sense.

Kant's doctrine of inner sense is hard to grasp, but he leaves us in little doubt about the nature and function of the outer sense. Sometimes the inner sense is spoken of as on a par with, and analogous to, the outer sense, but more frequently the primacy is assigned to the outer sense and the deliverances of inner sense are made to depend on the function of the outer sense. Our consciousness, in the first instance, must be of objective things outside us in space and this is made possible through the agency of the outer sense. When they are received "the mind in the process of setting representations of outer sense in space affects itself, and is constrained to arrange the given representations likewise in time through inner sense." But this view is again modified by the assertion that the contents of outer sense, all appearances without exception, are primarily representations of inner sense. It is not possible for us to intuit anything outside us in space unless, through the affection of the inner sense, we are first made aware of their presence as representations of consciousness. Of the two senses, inner and outer, sometimes the one sometimes the other is given the primacy and the exact relation of the two senses is difficult to determine.

But closer attention to the details of the argument shows the real drift of Kant's teaching. We shall understand it better if we bear in mind at the outset the place and significance of sensibility in Kant's theory of knowledge. Prior to Kant it was commonly held alike by the natural realist and the classical idealist, however they differed in other respects, that the mind has the power of getting direct access to the inmost reality of things and knowing them immediately as to their real nature. In this account the idealists meant by things, more specially the mind and its inner states, and ascribed to the ego the power of knowing itself and its inward contents directly by self-conscious reflection; the realists, on the contrary, thought more of the objective things of the outside world and discovered in experience the secret clue of knowing them as they are.

Kant turned away from such speculations, for he suspected, behind them all, the influence of a tendency to occultism at work. By introducing the doctrine of sensibility he sought to keep clear of the taint of mysticism. On the negative side it meant a denial to mind of the power of jumping straight, whether it be by self-conscious reflection or experience, into the essence of things. And so on the positive side it urged that anything to be known must at first pass through the organ of sensibility and be tinted in the colour of this organ. The primary condition of anything being known is that it must be given through sensibility so that the traditional belief in the mind's power of knowing things apart from their givenness must be definitely abandoned. The immediate consequence of this is that the given, in view of its taking on the forms of sensibility, cannot be identical with real things, so that there is no possibility of knowing things, inner or outer, as they are in themselves. All knowledge must be limited to the appearances of things. Within the realm of appearance Kant recognises a twofold distinction : some belong to the outside world in space and some to the inner world of feelings and representations of consciousness. These two types of appearances are given to us through the two different organs of sensibility, *viz.*, the outer sense and the inner sense.

Although the outer sense has no power of revealing to us the nature of real things and shows us their appearances merely, we are nevertheless made directly aware of these outside objects in space and it never occurred to Kant to doubt the existence of these outside objects in space. The idealists commit a twofold blunder when they declare that the mind has a power of knowing itself and its inner contents directly by self-conscious reflection and from these immediate revelations of consciousness pass on by inference to outer objects. Kant's doctrine of inner sense is a definite reply to this, for by inner sense he clearly negatives the suggestion that the mind independently of itself has the power of knowing itself and its contents. There can be no awareness of these contents unless they are given through the inner sense. But inner experience, in Kant's opinion, is conditioned by outer experience. This is developed in the theorem that "the mere, but empirically determined, consciousness of my own existence proves the existence of objects in space outside me." The significance of this proof rests on the fact that the consciousness of my own existence is bound up with consciousness of the succession of

thoughts, ideas and feelings present to inner sense. But it is not possible for the inner sense to intuit a succession of feelings and ideas except through the intuition, by the outer sense, of something permanent in space. Lest there be a confusion between the representation of something permanent in space and a permanent representation Kant reiterated the opinion that the sense perception of the permanent is possible only through a thing outside me in space and not through the mere idea of a thing outside me. The whole argument is put in a nutshell if we say that we have immediate experience of outer objects and we do not merely imagine them or entertain ideas of them and that without granting this we cannot hold that we have any awareness of our own existence. From this we may pass on to the other great mistake of the idealist's position when the attempt is made to pass on from the inner world of subjective states to the outer world of objective things. An inference of this nature is inconclusive and uncertain. For there may be other causes except the outer objects in space to account for the stream of ideas in our inner experience. The ultimate drift of idealism must therefore be to remain shut up in a circle of subjective fancies only,—a position which no one in his senses can be persuaded to accept. And so Kant again urges: "All outer perception furnishes immediate proof of something actual in space or rather is the actual itself." The first point in the refutation of idealism is now before us.

The question that confronts the critical philosopher now is as to the nature and constitution of the object as immediately revealed in outer experience. Kant raises a warning against interpreting the object as equivalent to the thing-in-itself which is indeed the position of the transcendental realist. Such an interpretation is easily mistaken as the natural presupposition of overturning idealism and the fact that Kant makes the thing in itself the corner-stone of his system lends support to the view that it is from the standpoint of transcendental realism that he proceeds to denounce idealism. But such a construction is utterly at variance with the main teaching of the critical philosophy. Transcendental realism, far from overriding idealism, finds itself enmeshed within the folds of the same cult. It makes the vain effort of combining together two incompatible propositions. On one side it declares that things are given as real in themselves in independence of our sensibility. And on the other side it makes inner representations the basis of our knowledge of things.

These inner representations being entirely distinct from their objects cannot yield assurance even of the existence of these objects. And so in the end transcendental realism suffers shipwreck. Things in themselves are not the objects of our cognition. It is therefore out of the question to refer to them in the attempt to turn down idealism.

It is necessary at this stage to notice the implications of the doctrine that the object of cognition is not the thing in itself and the considerations that induced Kant to say so. Taking the latter problem first I find that here, as elsewhere, Kant's position is pre-eminently that of an earnest enquirer over a live concrete problem. He does not indulge in mere theorising over purely hypothetical issues. His attention was drawn to the existence of a body of knowledge of nature which by reason of the universality and necessity of the laws incorporated therein is rightly ranked as science. That a science of nature actually exists led him to investigate into the conditions of its possibility. The enquiry was carried on with a view to obtaining a satisfactory solution of the two distinct points raised in the problem of knowledge, *viz.*, that it is knowledge of nature as a totality of objects and that as knowledge it possesses necessary validity. This latter aspect remains inexplicable except on the supposition of the a-priori origin of cognitions, whereas the former aspect shows the futility of resting on concepts of pure understanding alone for knowledge of an object. In this Kant stood opposed to the standpoint of the rational idealist, notably of Leibnitz. The matter of knowledge, *viz.* the real, must be more than mere thought. It must be an object of sense intuition. The real is presented to us through the faculty of sensibility. Does it follow that we intuit the real as it is in itself? Kant's answer is clear and definite. Our intuition of an object is in time and space. If extension were an entity existing independently by itself or a property inherent in the thing it would be reasonable to hold that what we intuit is the real itself. But Kant finds it impossible to entertain the supposition that space is an objective entity or an empirical concept formed by generalisations out of experiences of individual spaces. Different spaces do not by aggregation make one space. Rather they emerge by limitation of one infinite space. The whole is here prior to the parts and as such cannot be built up by successive stages of comparison and abstraction of isolated experiences of different spaces. Space is presented, whole and entire,

in one undivided intuition. Being prior to every empirical intuition, as the one common universal form of all intuition, it is called the a-priori form of intuition. In the transcendental exposition the truth of this position receives additional confirmation. For Kant shows therein that such a position alone accounts for the absolutely necessary character of the mathematical sciences. In a similar way time is also shown to be an a-priori form of intuition. All our intuitions being necessarily in time and space are subjectively tinged. Nothing therefore that is intuited can be a thing in itself.

As without intuitions no cognitions of objects are possible it follows at once why in cognising an object we are kept removed from the thing-in-itself. Apart from these, there are additional grounds, derived from the nature of the cognitive process itself, to warrant the conclusion that the object of cognition is not the thing-in-itself. Intuitions are merely felt whereas knowledge is an affair of the understanding and is concerned with the synthetised totality of intuitions in the unity of an object. This involves bringing the intuitions into a relational order by means of certain forms of synthesis which as immanent modes of understanding itself gives the stamp of necessary unity to the intuitions and makes them into an object. In one way we are responsible for the mould in which an object of knowledge is presented, in another way what is known is known as standing over against us with the stubbornness of objectivity. Cognitions do not result from the mere accumulation, juxtaposition and commingling of intuitions by themselves. They grow out of the function of the understanding which is strained into action on the presentation of intuitions. Cognitions, thus interpreted, do necessarily involve a-priori forms, and it was this aspect of cognition that exercised Kant's mind as to how a-priori cognitions should hold valid of objects. And the answer that proved most satisfactory lay in the discovery that the object of knowledge as regards its organised structure is itself the creation of apriori forms. Nature as a systematic whole of objects is found to conform to laws of understanding, not because as is usually supposed, these laws are empirically derived out of nature, but because understanding itself makes nature into an ordered whole by prescribing its own apriori laws upon the materiality of nature. Kant sums up the point by saying that understanding is the lawgiver of nature and characterises this revolutionary attitude as on a par with the Copernican revolution in astronomy.

The results of the foregoing analysis confirm the position outlined above that the object of knowledge though grounded in the thing-in-itself is not identical with it. The thing-in-itself undergoes a twofold transformation in the process of knowledge ; firstly as intuitions in time and space and secondly as their synthetised totality, through the principles of understanding, into the system of objects constituting nature. When therefore it is declared that there is a valid science of nature what is meant is that there is a science of the totality of phenomena which is all that is meant by nature.

By reducing all knowledge of objects to knowledge of phenomena (and nothing beyond phenomena), Kant is bringing into prominence the two central tenets of his critical philosophy, one is termed transcendental idealism and the other empirical realism. These two doctrines are closely bound up with one another so much so that the acceptance of the one means the acceptance of the other. Yet it does not mean that Kant is hereby formulating a hypothetical judgment to the effect that if one starts with transcendental idealism he must necessarily be an empirical realist. What he means to assert is an absolutely categorical proposition. Analysis of knowledge convinced him of the paramount importance of the connective principles which have their origin in the ego independently of all experience. These principles have a transcendental origin, but he realised at the same time that they have no validity except in relation to the concrete fact of the empirically given. In one sense they make experience possible whilst in another sense they are made real through and in the course of, experience alone. Considered in themselves, *i.e.*, as remaining in the sphere of their transcendental origin, they are no more than empty shadows, idle dreams. This is why they are described as having no more than mere ideality transcendently. Neither the forms of intuitions nor the categories of the understanding have any sustaining power in themselves. They cannot be taken as equivalent to things in themselves and so cannot be interpreted as transcendently real. Transcendental idealism is thus openly at variance with transcendental realism. I do not raise the point of characterising the standpoint of critical philosophy as transcendental idealism, but this much is certain that transcendental idealism represents a necessary and an entirely inescapable presupposition of any philosophy that sets out to justify the certainty and completeness of objective cognitions. Transcendental idealism leads inevitably to

empirical realism which stands opposed equally to transcendental realism and ordinary idealism. And so Kant urges with considerable force that the most effective way of refuting idealism does not lie in transcendental realism but in empirical realism which is an inseparable corollary of transcendental idealism.

Two points demand elucidation in this connection. The first relates to the connection between transcendental idealism and empirical realism; and the second to the service that empirical realism renders in stamping out idealism. Ordinary idealism restricts knowledge to ideas and is constrained to remain dubious to the end whether anything exists beyond the circle of ideas. It thus finds itself entangled in the unenviable doctrine of subjectivism and is unable to distinguish between fact and fiction, truth and illusion. Transcendental idealism, on the contrary, treats the generative conditions of experience, *i.e.*, the formative principles of knowledge as utterly undefined in themselves and therefore beyond the grasp of knowledge. They are animated into fullblooded forms in connection with the empirically given matter of experience. Their sole claim to reality is validated by experience apart from which they are as good as empty nothing. And on the other side experience itself as a steady, stable structure of objects, distinguished from the random flow of fancies and illusions is made possible through the active functioning of these a-priori principles. They constitute the keel and backbone as it were, of the real knowable world of objects, but in as much as they work from behind the scene of the real world as its antecedent conditions there is and can be no awareness of their presence.

The leading thought in Kant's mind is that all knowledge must necessarily be of the real; whatever therefore transcends the sphere of the real and remains in the form of ideality cannot be an object of awareness nor of knowledge. Ordinary idealism thus commits a serious blunder when it declares that we are directly and immediately aware of ideas. Kantian transcendental idealism saves us from such an indefensible position. Moreover it furnishes the only possible answer to the question: how a-priori cognitions should have objective validity by showing that objectivity itself crops into being through the necessary unity of synthesis performed by these a-priori principles. Transcendental idealism thus at once finishes ordinary idealism and lays the foundation of realism.

But the real to which, according to the standpoint of transcendental idealism we have access in knowledge, and which therefore constitutes the object of experience is to be carefully distinguished from the thing in itself. The thing in itself is supposed to stand by itself independently of all experience, whereas the object of knowledge is determined according to the necessary principles of synthesis whereby experience itself is organised. We have experience of the real only in so far as experience contributes to the making of the real. The same process whereby out of the manifold of intuitions experience is fashioned is also moulding the being of the real.

Realism is bound up with our very existence. In this respect it affords the simplest comment on idealism. But the type of realism which in Kant's opinion serves effectively to dispose of idealism differs from the usual varieties of it in that it rests upon conditions that are in themselves marked with the character of ideality, whereas all other varieties are sustained by themselves and are therefore in no need of any explanatory principle. These latter are termed absolute or transcendental realism in contrast with which Kant calls his position empirical realism.

There is the need of realism, but we cannot rest content with any realism that pretends to be self-sufficient and self-sustaining. The modern realist's programme which begins by saying that the real is there and ends by asking us to accept it just as we find it looks plausible enough because of its apparent simplicity. But evasive simplicity proves ruinous in the long run. To say that the real is there does not explain how we get hold of it. The modern realist probably thinks that by simply ignoring the problem he can escape all the troubles incidental to it. If in the process of laying hold on the real nothing new emerges on the scene it fails to bring out adequately the exact sense of what is meant by 'having the real' as contrasted with the unconditioned real itself. If on the contrary a new element of subjectivity steps into the arena it raises a problem as to how far, or whether at all, reality gets transformed into a secondary order of being through the influence of subjectivity. Idealism sprang from the argument that reality is just as we have it (*esse est percipi*). Having the real implies not simply moulding the shape of the real but giving life to its being so as to raise it into the status of reality.

Moore in his well-known article, 'The Refutation of Idealism' sought mainly to challenge the truth of the classical formula: *Esse est*

percipi. His point was to show at first that a thing and the sensation of the thing whereby it is felt are distinct occurrences. They cannot at the same time be declared identical so that it amounts to an absurdity to say that the being of a thing consists in its being perceived.

The realist's main enquiry is shifted to an examination of the nature of sense-perception with a view to showing that between a thing and the perception of the thing there is no inner intrinsic and necessary relation so that there is nothing to prevent the thing from being what it is even apart from perception. This is hard for the opponent to swallow. None of the specific points which determine a thing has any being except in relation to a perceiving mind. In the very existence of a thing, as he feels, is involved a sort of mystic union between a subject on one side and an object on the other. The realist in his effort to put out this longstanding prejudice is obliged to attack the root-problem underlying the notions of the subject and the object alike. To his analytic stroke they both yield and gradually crumble down to purely neutral (subject-object characterless) logical entities. Out of such stuff the spatiotemporal world of objects is constructed, not by a willing spirit, but wholly by a sort of mutual adaptation and fitness. Once the process is set on its career it grows into more complex and integrated shapes till at one end there is the emergence of that subtle form of organisation which figures as a knowing mind. Between mind and the world there is no gulf of separation. They both have a common pedigree and occupy similar status, although owing to differences of organisation they fulfil different function. If mind has the function of perceiving, the world has that of being perceived. But this does not mean that either the one or the other suffers or gains in any way through their mutual contact.

The central point of modern realism may be summed up in the proposition that knownness is not an essential character of being. To substantiate this point the realist has been driven to expose the traditional faith in the unique supremacy of the subject. Two possibilities were found open. Either the subject is to be blown away altogether or it is to be deprived of its originality and assigned a secondary, derivative status, being treated as an emergent quality of certain primitive qualityless elements. How far this plan carries success I need not wait to see at present.

The peculiarity of Kant's position is that although he does not set aside the transcendental object he finds little use for it in his scheme

of objectivity. The transcendental object is not available either for knowledge or action and the demand for an object is seldom satisfied by it. The object that we need is an object of experience. There is no object without experience, and there is no experience that does not yield an object, so that the two terms experience and object stand ultimately for one and the same thing. Among the conditions generative of experience are to be found, so far as the transcendental enquiry disclosed, the noumenal conditions of the ego on one side, the transcendental object on the other, and the whole train of synthetic processes due to the influence of the latter upon the former which are also of a noumenal character. As a result of these operations we have the individualised empirical self with his experience of a world of things. Both the self and the world of this experience process are of a phenomenal nature. By this phenomenalism Kant definitely made out a case for our common world made up of permanent physical things in space, and ruled out the ordinary forms of idealism, better styled subjectivism. And although the individual subject is reduced to a secondary, dependent order of existence Kant does not feel that he can go all the way with the realist and blow away altogether the principle of consciousness. Behind all knowledge and experience there operates as its hidden condition a universal principle of synthetic apperception which is in essence the principle of consciousness. In this sense Kant's leanings may be said to be decidedly in favour of classical idealism. Yet it would be wrong to put down Kant for an idealist. In the whole range of noumenal conditions there is nowhere to be found the self as a self-existing, self-conscious subject. The self as endowed with consciousness of itself emerges only gradually through the interplay of these transcendental conditions and even when it appears on the scene, and makes possible the experience of objects it never grows conscious of these elements by which it is itself conditioned. This explains why inspite of Kant's frequent insistence on the transcendental ego he cannot show that it is ever conscious of itself, so that in the last resort his noumenal ego reduces to no more than a pure empty logical concept. If Kantianism affords us no ground to start with a primary self-conscious subject, if the noumenal ego of which Kant speaks turns out to be as yet devoid of consciousness it becomes difficult to understand what sense is left by calling it an ego. If consciousness cannot be reckoned among the first principles of existence we are placed almost in the same situation to which the

modern realist pushes us and the question of deduction of consciousness remains as baffling as ever.

But in his interpretation of consciousness Kant pursues an entirely different path from that of the realist. In the realist's account consciousness is assigned a place among objective things or rather it is but a way of designating objects in a certain order of relation, whereas in Kantianism consciousness is characterised as the sole active principle whereby the basic ingredients are organised, according to their inner bonds of connection, into an well-ordered totality of objects. In thus functioning as the one absolute universal condition of all experience it transcends the life of individual subjects and hardly attains to consciousness of itself. The world is as it is experienced, yet it is not the experienced world of the individual self. This is Kant's refutation of idealism by which he means subjectivism alone.

In Kant's opinion it is height of absurdity to call in question the reality of the common objective world lying outside us or to dissolve it into waves of representations of individual subjects. To this extent he is at one with the realist. But he cannot agree with him in accepting the world as a self-sustained, matter-of-fact existence. The world before us is not a matter-of-fact affair. It demands an explanation.

In fairness to the realist it has to be said that he also feels the need of explaining the world. But what he means by explanation is fundamentally different from what the critical philosopher understands by it. The realist resorts to analysis and seeks to explain a complex fact by resolving it into simpler constituents of the same order. There is no idea of explaining the 'how' of the fact. It has simply to be taken for granted. All explanation thus amounts to a process of empirical analysis moving within the realm of the given. But the critical philosopher cannot remain content with such a blind immanent operation. In explaining a fact there is the need of transcending it. The given has to be explained by means of conditions that cannot be placed in the same line with the given. The ultimate basis of a fact is not itself a fact. It has to be ascertained by transcendental analysis working beyond the realm of factual existence. Herein lies the germ of ideality without which there is no possibility of getting at concrete reality. In the hard rigour of realism subjectivism is dashed to pieces, yet underneath the solid crust of realism there are traceable the lineaments of a deeper and more

enduring idealism. Realism in attacking the very principle of idealism not only finds itself knocking against a dead wall, but is even unable to secure itself. The critical philosophy of Kant by its advocacy of transcendental idealism as the basic foundation of empirical realism undoubtedly marks an advance upon brute unconditioned realism of the moderns.

Yet at least in two points Kant seems to have fallen short of the ideal. The synthetic principles whereby experience, for the matter of that the object, is formed are allowed to remain for the most part vague. Sometimes they are treated as blind functions of an amorphous spiritual principle, culminating in conscious experience of which at one pole there is the self-conscious individual subject, and at the other the field of objective things. At other times the synthetic activities are defined as the various cognitive processes of the individual mind. Whether apart from and prior to the emergence of the concrete self-conscious ego there is any possibility of these synthetic functions taking place at all is a doubtful point. At any rate it is difficult for us to unravel the mystery involved in the supposition of transcendental synthesis operating of itself unless this is interpreted as emanating from a principle that *does not become conscious but is already conscious* at the start. But to assume a conscious ego at the root of the whole process amounts virtually to an admission that it may be self-conscious as well.

The other difficulty relates to Kant's belief in the transcendental object. It is sometimes identified with the unknown thing-in-itself which is assumed to stand over against the transcendental unity of apperception to set it in motion. But more frequently it is treated as the necessary correlate to the unity of apperception. "It has to serve as, or to be identified with, that unity of the manifold whereby the understanding unites the manifold in the concept of an object. It is the logical counterpart,—'the other' of the Hegelian school, which the ego in the effort of conscious fulfilment of itself puts forth from within itself. That the thing in itself in regard to its manifold appearance proves amenable to the laws of the understanding argues well in favour of such an interpretation. If Kantianism could be developed along this line it would afford a more satisfactory explanation of the ultimate basis of objectivity and serve to vindicate that type of realism by which alone what ordinarily passes for idealism can be refuted.

ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND INDIA : CULTURAL RELATIONS

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, A.M. (BROWN), DR. PHIL. (HAMBURG)

ETHNICAL RELATIONS OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PEOPLES

III

IN the course of our investigation we have discovered some of the ethnic traits of these peoples of the Near East. We have seen that the Hettites wore pigtails which led some to ascribe Mongolian origin to them. Again, traces of a population leaving its mark in pre-Sumerian Assur, in Cappadocia in Anatolia and in the influence of the style of art that are discovered in Palestine in the period which MacAlister called "Second Semitic Period,"¹ have been discovered, some of whom had the habit of wearing pigtail.² We do not know the original import of this habit, it may be that it is some form of ethnic mark. The pigtail is still worn by a Mohammedan tribe of Syria³ who give a religious explanation to it. But according to Von Luschan it is a survival of the original Hettite fashion of wearing pigtail. In India, the habit of keeping a tuft of hair (Sikha) on the crown of the head is still the orthodox custom. It is sanctioned by religion (Sata-patha Brahmana 1, 3, 3, 5; Asvalayana Grihya Sutra IV 29). With the orthodox Brahmins it takes the size of short pigtail, as Apastamba says, "He shall wear all his hair tied in one braid, or let him make a braid of the lock on the crown of the head, and shave the rest of the head" (1, 1. 2, 31-32).⁴ As seen in the Vedic Literature, each family, i.e., clan of Brahmins, had peculiar form of sikhas on their heads. The tuft on the head varied from one even to seven according to gotras (family). Perhaps these differences marked the clan or other differentiations.⁵ But the original meaning of keeping the tuft of hair on the head seems to have been lost. Likewise, the original meaning of the pigtail on the head of the Hettites also. Again,

¹ MacAlister "Excavations at Gezer," Level III; M. Vincent, "Syria," V, pp. 91 ff.

² Andrae, "Die archaischen Ischtartempel in Assur," Pls. XLIII and XLVII.

³ Von Luschan, "Races of Western Asia."

⁴ 'Apastamba' in SBE, Vol. II, p. 8.

⁵ Translator's footnote to Gautam's injunctions regarding keeping a tuft of hair says that it is regulated by the custom of wearer's family, school or country. *Vide* SBE, Vol. II, p. 178.

the ancient Indians, like some other ancient peoples, had the habit of keeping long hairs on their heads.¹ The same custom is still in vogue with many of the mountainous tribes living on the Afghan hills on the Indian side. It seems the ethnic meaning of this custom is lost: some are seeing it as a mode of coiffure only, while others ascribe religious imports to it. Anyway, it will be worth while to investigate the ethnical significance of this custom which stretched from Asia Minor to India.

The next point to be considered is the question of religion which is to be reckoned as a part of a cultural complex. In our enquiry about ethnical connections we cannot forget the part played by religion in the development of a common culture. We have already seen that some of the Vedic gods were worshipped by the Indo-European peoples of ancient Near East. Besides these, there is another notable fact that is yet to be investigated—the phallic worship and the cult of Mother Goddess that prevailed in the Near East and in India.

The phallic worship prevailed in the Mesopotamian valley from very ancient times. The Semitic peoples worshipped the phallic symbols in stones and also in wooden cones and stocks.² The relics of the worship of the phallic symbols in stones have been discovered amongst the finds of the Indus Valley civilization.³ The same cult has developed gradually in the modern Hindu mode of *Yoni* and *Lingam* which in modern India has been unified into one symbol. Thus according to Marshall, the present-day Indian cult of Siva and stone-worship of phallic symbols had their linear progenitors in Mohenjodaro.⁴ But as regards the presence of phallic worship in the Vedas, there is no clear indication. The Vedas deal with religious ceremonies of the upper classes,⁵ hence any account of the popular beliefs may not be found in them. Yet a strange word “Sisnadeva” is found mentioned in the Rig Veda (VII. 215, X. 993). But the interpretation of this word by the post-Vedic scholars, Durga and Yaska, does not indicate phallicism. Dr. Sarup says. “There is no evidence to show that Durga or Yaska was even aware of its existence. According to them, the phrase denotes profligate persons whose sole or chief end in life is to gratify their sensual desires. But the phrase is a possessive compound, and can be translated accurately only as “they

¹ Vide Megasthenes, “Indika” translated by MacCrimdale.

² Frazer, “Adonis.”

³⁻⁴ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 71; 78

⁵ M. Bloomfield, “The Religion of the Veda.”

whose God is the phallus."¹ It might be that Vedic ritualism and the phallic cult existed side by side. The common people might have been followers of this cult. In this way, there is a similarity of religion between the Near East and India. Again, the cult of Mother Goddess that was so prominent in ancient Near East and the Mediterranean regions, and also God the Father whose statue is to be identified in the stone-reliefs of the Hettite capital at Boghaz-keui² have their counterparts in Mahenjo-daro. Marshall again says, "It exhibits to our eyes, on the one hand the worship of the Mother Goddess and side by side with her a God, whom we have good reason to recognize as the ancestor of historic Siva."³

Further, the orthodox Hindu belief is that the cult of Mother Goddess and of Siva are Vedic. Indeed they point out from the Vedic literature the mention of *Uma Haimavati* (Kenopanisad 3, 25, 12) as the original source of Sakti—the Mother Goddess. Also they point to the *Satarudriya Litany* of Yajur Veda (Bk. 16th) where Siva in its modern form is described. Regarding the identity of the cults of Mahenjo-daro and the Vedas, Marshall admits that "the religion of the Indus Valley was lineal progenitor of Hinduism."⁴

Now coming back to the Near East we find that God the Mother used to be worshipped in various forms in that region. One of the forms was the goddess riding on a chariot drawn by lions as in the case of Cybele. Frazer says, the rock-cut statues of the trio gods that have been discovered at Boghaz-keui show them to be the God the Father holding a trident in hand, Goddess the Mother having a lion standing in front of her, and in between God the son. Strangely, this description will fit the description of Siva and Sakti of the Saiva and Sakti cults of Hinduism. In *Satarudriya Litany*, we read Rudra who is also called as "Siva," "Pasupatiya," "Girisam," having the attribute of *Trisuladivam* (Holder of a trident) and in Sakti cult, Sakti or Goddess Durga rides on a lion.⁵ Again strangely enough, according to Puranas, the God Siva is coloured white ! These coincidences cannot but strike the investigator that there is much similarity between the Mother cult and phallicism of the Near East and the same cults of India, ancient and modern.

¹ "The Nighantu and Nirukta of Yaska," translated by L. Surup, p. 238, also Zimmer, "alt indisches Leben."

² Frazer, "Adonis."

³ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 77, 78.

⁵ Vide Sanskrit Text of "Chandi" or "Devimahatmyam."

Again, we will draw attention to another similarity in the matter of religious use of *Swastika* and the symbol of two inverted triangles that is commonly used by the Jews and the Mohammedans as well as by the Hindus. Prof. Langdon, the reporter of the Indus script, speaks of the *survival* of *Swastika* design on the seals of Mahenjo-daro.¹ This symbol which is the holy mystic symbol of the Hindus has been found in Indus Valley civilization as well. On the other hand, de Morgan² has found out this symbol³ in the Caucasus in the oldest layer of the remains of the Ossetes along with a bone of *Bos Indicus*. Again, the symbol of two inverted triangles that is to be seen on the Jewish Synagogues and Muhammadan Mausoleums⁴ is also used by the Hindus as a holy one.

These religious and mystic symbols cannot but prove a cultural similarity which pointed towards cultural relations between these two regions of the East.

Again, the Sanskrit word 'Mana' (anglicised *avoidupois-maund*) has its counterparts in Western Asiatic Greek and Latin languages, and it is supposed to be of Babylonian origin.⁵ Further, Childe admits that "Philology suggests contact between the undivided Aryans and Sumero-Akkadians."⁶ A philologist like Prof. Hommel has suggested a period when the Aryans were living in contiguity with the Semitic people. The same view is expressed by Joh. Schmidt who thinks that the original Indo-Europeans did not live very far from Babylon.⁷ Perhaps by this contact with the Mesopotamian people the tradition of the flood has crept into Sanskrit literature.⁸ Again, the indebtedness of the undivided Indo-Europeans or Aryans to the Mesopotamian cultures is being regarded to be very great.⁹ Thus we get further proofs of cultural contacts between the West Asiatic peoples and the Aryan civilization of India through these channels.

Another important ethnic custom that is worth investigating is the mode of disposal of the dead. As Gordon Childe says: "The

¹ Mar hall, Vol. I, p. 426.

² De Morgan, "Mis-ion au Caucase." He gave only a picture of this symbol which is nothing but the *Swastika* sign.

³ The *Swastika* symbol has also been found amongst the archaeological finds of Susa—vide Childe, "The Most Ancient East," PBS. Again, the *Swastika* has been represented on vases found in Koban in Transcaucasia in the land of the Ossetes, vide Childe, p. 119.

⁴ Vide Humayun's tomb at Agra.

⁵ Vide Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. p. 128-129.

⁶ Childe. *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁷ Joh. Schmidt, "Urheimat der indogermanen."

⁸ Vide Weber, "Indische studien," Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 128-129.

⁹ Vide Ipsen, "Sumero-akkadisch Lehnwörter in Indo-Germanischen" in "Indo-Germanische Forschungen," XLI, p. 417.

mode of disposal of the dead is often regarded as one of the most fundamental customs of a people, and one that they would most tenaciously preserve."¹ Hence, an investigation about the mode of disposal of the dead of these prehistoric peoples of the Near East is necessary for the solution of some of the knotty problems of ethnology.

At present the investigation about the rites of the dead is not yet definite, and not much light can be thrown on the matter of the disposal of the dead of these prehistoric peoples who are suspected of speaking Indo-European languages. But this much has been brought to light that so far some cases of cremation have been found out in the Near East at a very early date in Neolithic deposits at Gaza² in Palestine and in a fire necropolis³ at Surghul⁴ in Babylonia dating about 2000 B. C. But Childe doubts the case of the latter.⁴ Again, another form of disposal of the dead has been discovered from the region of Carchemisch in North Syria.⁵ It is the cist-grave of large stone slabs enclosing contracted skeletons and accompanied by high pedestalled bowls,⁶ also it contains objects paralleled in South Russia.⁷ This form of cist-grave has also been discovered in Orchomenos and other towns of Greece⁸. Mr. Woolley ascribes these cist-graves to the Hettites.⁹ Again as Childe says, these cist-graves of Carchemisch and their contents cannot be regarded as immediately originated from Troy and pottery contained in them from the Trojan and the Greek ones.¹⁰ Again, the cist-graves do not either contain inhumed bodies or ashes of burnt corpses; it contains skeletons with spear-heads, etc. This mode of disposal of the dead seem to us to be an intermediate link between inhumation and complete cremation. It may be called fractional burial or fractional or partial cremation.

Thus so far that can be gleaned about the mode of disposal of the dead of the supposed Indo-European peoples of the Near East in prehistoric times. Outside this area, coming nearer to Inner Asia we find that complete and fractional burials have been found at Musyān in Western Persia.¹¹ The Achaemenid kings were used to be buried in

¹ G. Childe, *op. cit.*, pp. 144.

² MacAlister, "Excavations at Gezer."

³ "Orientalische Literaturzeitung" xxi.

^{4,10} G. Childe, *op. cit.*, 146; 27; 130; 27; 130; 131; 131.

¹¹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 81-85.

rock-cut tombs¹ as Zoroastrianism enjoins strict prohibition of cremation system amongst its members. This shows that the mode of cremation was not unknown in ancient Persia. Again, at Anau in Central Asia, the people buried their children in Jars under the houses.²

Coming to India we find that urn-burials and burials like that of the cist-grave fashion have been discovered in India. The Bengal Administration Report for 1868-69 mentioned the discovery of some leaden coffins containing unusually long human skeletons. It is said that this discovery was made at Lauriah in the province of Behar, where Bloch is said to have discovered urn-burials of pre-Mauryan age.³ Again, Satapatha Brahmana (13.8.2.1) speaks of Çamu denoting "a trough, either of solid stone or consisting of bricks used by the Eastern people to protect the body of the dead from contact with the earth, like modern stone-lined graves or vaults."⁴

Again, in Rigveda (8.89, 1) and in Atharva Veda (5, 30, 14, 18 ; 2, 52) houses of earth are referred.

Now, let us wend our course towards Europe to find the rite of the dead in prehistoric period. There we find that the practice of burning replaced the mode of interment. Many scholars like G. Sergi, Ed. Meyer, think that this change of rite was introduced in Europe in the Neolithic Age by the Eurasiatic Brachycephals from Asia. According to them, it is an Indo-European custom introduced into Europe by the same race.⁴ G. de Michelis also sees a racial migration in this change from inhumation to cremation, and he says the migrants were the Aryans settling out from the Danube Valley,⁵ and this rite observed during the Bronze Age, according to him is the finest cultural synthesis of all the Aryan peoples yet discovered. Further, fields of cinerary urns of the Lausitz type ⁶ have been discovered in Central Europe which extended from Bohemia to the Vistula, and beyond to the land of the Slavs. Further, in the Western parts of Europe, *viz.*, in Britain, in Necker Valley of Western Germany, in other parts of Germany, burnt human bones and cinerary urns have

¹ Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

² *Vide* Report of Sergi in Pumpelly's "Explorations in Turkestan."

³ A.S.R., 1906, "Excavations at Lauriya," by T. Bloch.

⁴ Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 255-256.

⁴ G. Sergi, "The Mediterranean Age," pp. 262-265. Meyer "Geschichte des Altertums," pp. 890-893.

⁵ E. de Michelis, "L'origine de gli Indo-Europei," 1903, Ch. IX.

⁶ Baron von Richtofen in "Mannus," 1925, pp. 140 ff.

been discovered.¹ All these cremations of Western and Central Europe are classed as belonging to the Neolithic or Chalcolithic Age.²

Regarding the racial identity of these cremationists of Western Europe various theories are afloat. As according to Childe, these cremations are associated with material which is to be found with inhumed skeletons belonging to different racial types,³ the identification of the people who introduced cremation leads to confusion. But the same writer says that "in the immediately preceding chalcolithic period of Central Europe a distinctly brachycephalic race had played an important part in preparing the foundations of the Bronze Age. This race, distinguished not only by craniological marks but also by a culture of its own, is known as the bell-beaker folk or the Prospectors."⁴ Then he further says, that "there is in fact some evidence to indicate that these Prospectors did in the last resort, come from Eastern Mediterranean, though they did not reach Central Europe from that quarter. Both Peake and Giuffrida-Ruggeri hold that a type, which seems to correspond to our bell-beaker folk, originated in the Aegean, where a brachycephalic element is early found in the Cyclades and Crete."⁵ But he also says, be that as it may it can hardly be contended that the brachycephalic Prospectors were the diffusers of the Aryan language in Europe.⁶

Here it may be worth while to note, that the Prospectors who are suggested by Peake⁷ to be the Sumerians are supposed to have been the diffusers of Megalith culture which is "one of the most conspicuous links between Europe and Asia—especially India,"⁸ but according to Childe "there are conclusive reasons against connecting the dolmen-builders...with the Aryans."⁹ On the other hand, Elliot-Smith derived these megalith-builders from Egypt¹⁰ and Letourneau has said that the builders of our megalith monuments came from the south and were related to the races of North Africa.¹¹

¹ G. Childe, "The Dawn of European Civilization," pp. 288, 296; Wolff, "Neolithische Brandgräber der umgebung Von Hanau" in *Prehistorische Zeitschrift*, Childe, *op. cit.*, 257; Schumann—Die stein-Zeit Gräber der Uckermark, *Mannus*, XI-XII, pp. 312 ff.

^{2,6} G. Childe, "The Aryans" pp. 145, 146, 99, 160, 100.

⁷ Peake, "Bronze Age," pp. 585.

⁸ Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁹ G. Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁰ Elliot-Smith, "The Ancient Egyptians and their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe," p. 176.

¹¹ Letourneau, *Bull. de la soc. d'anth. de Paris*, April, 1893.

Thus it is evident that the racial identification of these peoples leads to various speculations. Now let us apply ourselves to India which is another Indo-European-speaking region.

In India a startling discovery of a new culture has been made recently in the province of Sindh and in the Montgomery district of the Punjab which has been named by Sir John Marshall¹ as the "Indus Valley Civilization." According to him, it is a pre-Aryan civilization that existed in the Indus valley as he says, "They exhibit the Indus peoples of the fourth and third millennium B.C. in possession of a highly developed culture in which no vestige of the Indo-Aryan influence is to be found."² Be that what it may, let us enquire about the mode of disposal of the dead of these peoples. Regarding their mode of disposal of the corpse, Sir John Marshall says: "At Mohenjo-daro the evidence is as yet too meagre and in some respects obscure. At Harappa it is more abundant...This evidence may be conveniently discussed under the following heads, namely, (1) Complete burials, (2) Fractional burials, (3) Post-cremation burials."³ Regarding *complete burials* 14 skeletons were found in a room at Mohenjo-daro, and at Harappa several examples of this mode of sepulchre, which are unquestionably orthodox, have been exposed in the lower stratum of cemetery H. Further, "the same method of complete burial is also well illustrated at two sites in Baluchistan, namely at *Nal...* and at *Shahitump* to the S. W. of Baluchistan.

At the former site, the skeletons were provided with definite graves, others were laid in the bare earth,"⁴ As regards the *fractional burial* in which fractions of the bones were collected and buried, some have been found at Mohenjo-daro and more than a hundred examples at Harappa. The objects found along with the Mohenjo-daro burial of courtyard 13 of House III belong to the Chalcolithic Age, and the Harappa finds are supposed to be of later period. Here, the remains of the dead are invariably deposited in earthen jars."⁵

Then we come to the question of *Post-cremation Burials*. Regarding it Marshall says, "At both Mohenjodaro and Harappa a class of large wide-mouthed urns has been brought to light, containing a number of smaller vases, bones of small quadrupeds, birds, or fish sometimes mingled with ashes and charcoal,"⁶ In conclusion Marshall

¹ Sir John Marshall, "Mohenjo-daro and Indus Valley Civilization."

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 79-81.

^{4,5} Marshall, *op cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 81-90.

says: "So far as our evidence goes at present, it seems probable that the most usual method of disposing of the dead during the flourishing period of the Indus Valley Civilization was by cremation. That cremation is practised is conclusively proved...by the finding of cinerary urns or other receptacles containing calcined human bones and ashes together with vessels of burnt or other offering for the dead and sundry articles for use in after life...The conclusions arrived at in regard to these cinerary and cenotaphic urns are amply confirmed by Sir A. Stein's discovery of similar urns at various sites in Baluchistan."¹ Thus, in prehistoric Western India we have a cyclic order of the funeral customs of the Indus Valley culture in which the urn-burial, *i.e.*, the burial of the charred bones or ashes in cinerary urns, occupy the most important position.

At last we come to the historical, *i.e.*, to the Indo-Aryan period of Indian history. In looking into the ancient Sanskrit books we find that various customs of disposal of the dead were in vogue in ancient times. The Vedas speak of the two modes of disposing the dead: (1) an-agnidagdha (not-burned) and (2) agnidagdha (burned). Of these, the custom of complete burial is indicated in the Rigveda (X.18, 11). Again, the custom of cremation is to be found also in the same book (X.16.1.6). The Rigveda speaks of both the customs. This has led many to opine that both the customs were followed by the Indo-Aryans simultaneously. But, it is not likely that in the same society both the customs will be prevalent at the same time, the one must have a prior origin. As the burial system is common to all primitive peoples, it may be said that the burial system is the oldest custom that is mentioned in the Rigveda. Winternitz says that perhaps in the oldest period, the burial custom was common with the Indians like the other Indo-Germans. Later, the custom of cremation came into vogue.

In looking into Vedic literature, we find that the mode of cremation, *i.e.*, the mode of completely burning the corpse, did not immediately follow the custom of burial. If the Rigveda (X.18) speaks of complete burial, the *Satapatha Brahmana* (13, 8, 1, 9) speaks the same practice. Again, in the period closing the Vedic age when the Grihya-Sutras were written, we find the custom of urn-burial mentioned with details in *Asvalayana Grihya-Sutras*. "The Grihya-Sutra

¹ M. Winternitz, "Geschichte der Indischen Literature," p. 84.

deals with the rules of the household ceremonies of the Indo-Aryans of the time...hence they are the witnesses of the Vedic family ceremonies as the 'Brahmanas' are of religious ceremonies."¹ While describing the funeral rite, the abovementioned text says, "He gives order to light the fires together (4.4.1). After it, "The gathering (of the bones is performed) after tenth (tithi from the dead) (4.5.1).... A man into a male urn without special marks, a woman into a female one without special marks (4.5.2)...with the thumb and the fourth fingers they should put each single bone (into the urn) without making a noise, the feet first, the head last (4.5.5-6). Having well gathered them and purified them with a winnowing basket, they should put (the urn) into a pit. He should throw earth (to the pit). Having covered (the urn) with a lid with (the verse) ..they should go away without looking back, should bathe in water, and perform a Śrāddha for the deceased (4.5.7-10)."

Thus in the Grihya Sutra, we get a minute description of the mode of *Urn-burial*. But the question that turns up is, whether the ashes of the bones were deposited in the urn or the charred skeleton itself used to be put in it? The Āśvalayana-Grihya Sutra speaks of the gathering of "each single bone" with "feet first, the head last." This description cannot fit in with the description of complete burning of the dead body into cinders or ashes as is in vogue now. The verses do certainly indicate partial cremation in which, after the burning of the soft parts of the body, the skeletal remains are gathered and put into an urn and this is again buried underground. Later, the urn-burial has been replaced by the system of *complete cremation* that is in vogue to-day.

In this wise, we see that the mode of disposal of the dead of the Indo Aryans followed the following cycle: inhumation, *i.e.*, the *burial of the dead body* was the earliest custom of the Vedic people. This was followed by the custom of *urn-burial* which extended from the later part of the Vedic Age to post-Vedic Age. Here it must be mentioned that Indologists like MaxMüller,² Winternitz and others have found two layers of hymns in the Rigveda itself.

Thus the Rigvedic hymns have ancient and modern periods.³ According to Winternitz perhaps the burial system was followed in the

¹ "Āśvalayana-Grihya-Sutra," translated by Oldenberg in S.B. E. pp. 236-246.

² F. Müller. "A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 457-483.

³ F. Max Müller, *op. cit.*

older period and the cremation system which is to be discovered in the Hymn (X.16, 1-6), he thinks, was of later age.¹ Hence the hymns about both the customs have been embodied in the Rigveda Samhita. Again, the partial cremation system, or *urn-burial* system, was replaced by the complete cremation system of present day. Here we see that from the custom of the complete burial to complete cremation there is a continuity through the urn-burial custom. The evolution of the funeral rites of the Indo-Aryans followed the abovementioned cycle.

Again, this cyclic order was similar with the funeral customs of the Indus Valley culture as described by Marshall. This similarity cannot fail to attract the attention of the investigator. The present writer has discussed elsewhere² about the similarity of the modes of disposal of the dead of Mahenjo-daro and Harappa peoples with those of the Indo-Aryans as described in the ancient Sanskrit texts. He has come to the conclusion that, as there is much that is common between both cultures, and as the cycle of funeral rites agrees and both the cultures were in Chalcolithic³ Age and both were situated in the same region, the presence of the Indo-Aryans in Mahenjo-daro cannot be denied and it is clearly discerned at Harappa.

Thus in the newly found-out "Indus Valley Civilization" we find that *urn-burial* was in vogue, and the same custom was also in vogue with the historical Indo-Aryans in certain period of their history. Even in the Pauranic Age the custom seems to have been followed. The *Agni Purana* speaks of the gathering of the bones after cremation (Ch. 158. 18). This gathering of the bones would presuppose an urn-burial. Again, it says that, without burning (the whole corpse) completely into ashes, a part must be left out (Ch. 158, 50). Here partial cremation is clearly hinted at. Again, we find that in both these periods complete cremation was preceded by the partial cremation in which the skeleton or the charred bones used to be put in a jar or urn and then deposited underground. In this wise, in India, complete burial was not followed directly by complete cremation in which the bones were burnt into ashes; there was the transitional period signified by the urn-burial custom. These Indian urn-burials may be regarded

¹ M. Winternitz. *op. cit.*

² B. N. Datta. "Vedic Funeral Customs and Indus Valley Culture in India," in "Man in India," Vol. XVI, No. 4, and Vol. XVII, Nos. 1 and 2.

³ As iron was unknown in the Rigvedic period, and as the arrow-heads made of stones (9.112 2) and utensils of woods (1. 175.3 10 : 101. 10,) were used by the people of this period, they were in Chalcolithic Age of civilization.

as similar with the urn-burials of Europe and the cist-graves of the Near East. Of course there are differences in this similarity.¹ Yet the urn burial custom points out the distribution of a cultural peculiarity which agrees well with the distribution of Indo-European group of languages. Thus we see that in the Eur-Asian belt there is a striking coincidence between the distribution of the urn-fields with the distribution of the Indo-European languages. Hence, it can be surmised that the Indo-European-speaking peoples were the bearers of this cultural ethnic peculiarity. Another peculiarity of this culture is that it evolved in Chalcolithic Age. Whether in Central Europe or in Near East, or in Indus Valley the urn-burial is to be placed in the chalcolithic period of civilization. (Its latter-day presence in India is to be regarded as the continuation of the custom.) All these coincidences point out to the presence of the Indo-European-speaking peoples in these areas of the Eur-Asian belt. But of course the funeral rite of cremation or the urn-burial custom is not to be identified solely with the Indo-European peoples as jar-burials have been discovered in the land of the Incas² and the rite of cremation is to be observed amongst the Melanesians and the Pacific Islanders.³ Amongst the Australian aborigines, cremation is one of the rites that is in vogue.⁴ Yet the striking coincidence between the prevalence of the urn-fields in the Eur-Asian belt with the regions peopled by the Indo-European-speaking peoples in the past and present cannot but strike the investigator. Hence the question that next turns up is to enquire about the carriers of this cultural ethnic peculiarity.

Indo-European Question.

As the urn-burial and the cremation system are to be found in the regions now-a-days occupied by the Indo-European-speaking peoples, the general supposition will be to identify the carriers of this culture with the same people. Long ago savants like Ed. Meyers, G. Sergi and others attributed this system to the Aryans who according to them came from the East in the Neolithic Age bringing the cremation

¹ According to Childe cist-graves showed much variety. Vide "The Dawn of European Civilization," p. 43.

² Max Schmidt, "Voelkerkunde," p. 307. Is it not due to the diffusion of culture as advocated by Elliot-Smith? The same author admits the diffusion of Hindu Culture in the same region of South America. Various investigators speak of the diffusion of Hindu Culture East Indian Archipelago and even amongst the polynesian peoples.

³ Fox, "Threshold of the Pacific," 1924, pp. 217, 219.

⁴ "Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in wien," XLVI, p. 86.

custom with them. Some like Sergi, Myers¹ and Christian identify these cremationists with the brachycephalic Alpines or Armenoids of Eur-Asia. On the other hand, we have heard that the cremations of Central Europe of the Neolithic or Chalcolithic Age contain skeletons belonging to different racial types. Again, no skeletal remains of the Hettite and Mitanni peoples have yet been discovered, but the anthropologists say, as we have heard before, that the tableland of Anatolia is inhabited by the peoples who are characterised as brachycephalic Armenoids by Von Luschan and the sea-coast is peopled by the dolichocephalic Mediterraneans. And as the reliefs of the prehistoric Hettites look like the present-day Armenians it is no wonder that they would be classed as *Armenoids*. Again, this Armenoid biotype is to be found in the Hindukush² and in former times the Taklamakan basin was peopled by this "racial element,"³ which is also called as the "Alpine" element. Besides these, the Iranian-speaking tribes of Central Asia are broad-skulled.⁴ Further, though the watershed of the Hindukush is the parting line not only between the Iranic and Indic-sanskritic languages and the brachycephalic peoples on the north and dolichocephalic peoples on the south of it, yet the Armenoid racial strain has not only been discovered in the prehistoric "Indus Valley Civilization" but also in present-day India as well.

Thus in the Asiatic regions marked as Indo-European, Armenoid element is to be met with. Hence, it is not to be wondered that savants like Braca, Sergi, de Morgan⁵ and others have opined that the neolithic brachycephals from Asia were not only the carriers of the cremation system in Europe, but Indo European language as well. Again, a philologist like Feist⁶ says that the cradle of the Indo-Europeans is to be sought in Central or Near East (*vorderasien*). Further, an archaeologist like Sayce sees the Aryan cradle in Asia Minor.⁷

On the other hand, a group of writers advance the hypothesis that the original Indo-Europeans were dolichocephalic-leptorrhine blondes who evolved out of the *milieu* of North-Europe. To them, the original Germans were the original Indo Europeans.⁸ This hypothesis, nicknamed as "Germanism,"⁹ is now-a-days re-named as "Nordicism."

¹ Myres, "Cambridge Ancient History" I p. 73.

² de ufatvy, "Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindoukoush," 1896; G. de Lapouge. 'L'Aryen' p. 19. He calls the Gaichas as "belated Savoyards" (*Savoyards attardés*).

³ Joyce, J.A.L., Vol. XVI.

⁴ de Morgan, *Syria*, IV p. 28f.

⁵ S. Feist, "Inlogemennen und Germanen," p. 109.

⁶ Sayce "Ramsay Studies" p. 393.

⁷ *Vide* "Encyclopaedia Britannica," Vol. I, 1929, pp. 263, 264.

⁸ *Vide* G. Sergi, "The Mediterranean Race," p. 8.

But this "Germanism" or its modern substitute "Nordicism" is tinged with National-Chauvinism. Again, perhaps seeing the untenability of this theory, a modified hypothesis, called now-a-days as "proto-Nordic" race in Aral-Caspian basin ¹ or in South-Western Siberia ² has been set up. Since Max Müller's introduction of the Aryan problem in Europe, it has become saturated with national and political bias.³ This bias has been recently denounced in strong terms by Childe who has exposed its true character as he says, "The apotheosis of the Nordics has been linked with the policies of *imperialism and world domination*; the word Aryan has become the watchword of dangerous factions and especially of the more brutal and blatant forms of anti-Semitism."⁴ Hence, in dealing with the Indo-European problem we should wean our minds from the "Pan-Germanic" complex. Again, the recent discoveries at Solutrè ⁵ in France and at Ofnet ⁶ in Germany of brachycephalic skulls in the Late Palaeolithic Age has demonstrated the old saying of Sergi, that at no period of her history there had been a uniformity of racial type in North Europe.

Hence, the hypothesis of a dolichocephalic-leptorrhine blonde Germanic or Nordic race of Indo-European speech evolving in remote antiquity out of the milieu of North or Central Europe, and subsequently peopling Eur-Asian continent, has to be given up. Again, sound-shifts of the Germanic language show that the Teutons were very much mixed with non-Indo-European races.⁷

On the other hand, other hypotheses which locate the cradle of the Indo-Europeans or Aryans either in Central Europe or in South Russia are extant. But they all agree in one point, that the original Indo-European was blonde.⁸ But the Finns of Europe are blondes and brachycephals, and the Siberian Tatar tribes discovered by Jochelson-Brodsky ⁹ are blondes, and the Kabyles of North Africa contain blonde elements in them, and these are not Indo-Europeans

¹ Dixon, "Racial History of Mankind," pp. 245-246.

² V. Eakstedt, "Rassenkunde und Rasseneschichte der Menschheit," p. 203 f.

³ Vide Kiple, "The Aryan Controversy" in "The Races of Europe."

⁴ G. Childe, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

⁵ Keith "Antiquity of Man," pp. 134 ff, 91 ff; L'Anthropologie, XXXV, p. 189.

⁶ Keith *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 110 (3:25).

⁷ Isaac Taylor, "The Origin of the Aryans," 1880, pp. 231-2; I. Bender, "The Home of the Indo-Europeans," 1923, p. 49; K. Norrenberg in "Globus," Bk. 77 (1900); Fick, "Vorgeschichte der Germanen"; S. Feist, "Indo-Germanen und Germanen," pp. 16-51; F. Braun, "Die urbevölkerung der Germanen," 1912, pp. 83-69.

⁸ G. Childe, *op. cit.*, pp. 159; 183.

⁹ Jochelson, "Peoples of Asiatic Russia" in "publication of American Museum of Natural History," 1928.

in speech. Hence, now-a-days some differentiate the "Nordics" from the blondes, as all blondes are not Nordics. Hilden calls the blonde Finnic population of North-east Europe as "East Baltic race" which is blonde, brachycephalic and with marked cheek bone.¹ Again, to solve the difficulty that has arisen regarding the head-form of the original Indo-Europeans, it is now conceded by some that the Nordics contained both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic peoples amongst them,² and Dixon says that "That these blonde dolichocephalic people were not a pure race, and wherever we find them show very clearly on analysis their composite origin."³

Thus we have stated the Nordic and the blonde hypotheses of the Indo-Europeans in a nutshell. But, there are other hypotheses extant on the matter of the origin and the cradle of the Indo-European-speaking people. As these are extraneous to our subject here we need not dwell over them. But one thing must be said here that, the protagonists of "Nordic" hypothesis in their attempt to find blonde element everywhere discover the same element in Persia and India. Ujfalvy tried to deduce from the Indo-Iranian iconography that the Achaemenid Persians were blondes and the ancient Hindus were whites.⁴ But to a student of history it is evident that he was mistaken in his deductions.⁵ The oldest proof of the appearance of an Indo-European people that we possess, is in the lower column of victory of Tiglat-pileser IV of Assyria in 800 B.C. Here, we get a proof that the Aryans were a dark-coloured type of men, as the Medes have been described as "dark."⁶ Further, the mosaic pictures of Pompey—the so-called battle of Alexander—the Persians have been represented with black beards.⁷ Again, the Ajanta fresco painting of Pulakesin II,⁸ the Chalukya king of South India, where he is depicted as receiving the embassy sent by Khosru II (Naoshirvan) of Persia in the early part of seventh century A.D. has been cited by the abovementioned writer as a proof of the "white" origin of the Indo-Aryans! In this fresco painting, Pulakesin

¹ *Vide* R. R. Gates, "Heredity in Man," pp. 303-304.

² G. Cuvier, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 183.

³ Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

⁴ Ujfalvy, "L'iconographie Indo-Irannienne" in "L'anthropologie," 1900, pp. 23-56 and 193-34.

⁵ These articles are quoted even to-day as anthropological proofs by modern writers even; *vide* Günther, "Racial Elements of European History."

⁶ Ed. Meyer, "Zeitsche. für verg. Sprachforschung," Bk. 42, p. 12.

⁷ S. Feist, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁸ R. C. Mazumdar, "A Brief History of India," p. 48.

is portrayed as bereft of any clothing in the upper part of his body, and this part, as depicted in photography seems white to these savants ! But further investigation of the same group of paintings will reveal that the Indian kings and queens are depicted in light-chocolate colour, as is seen in the fresco painting of plate No. XV (17) taken by Lady Harringham (Ajanta Frescoes being reproductions in colour and monogram of frescos in some of the Caves at Ajanta. By Lady Harringham and her attendants). Oxford University Press, 1915. Yet this painting is cited as a proof of his "white" origin ! But the Indian writers of that age have nowhere depicted an Indian king as "white." The utmost that can be predicated is that he would be described as "fair" in complexion, *i.e.*, fairer than the average dark-skinned Indian. Long before that, during the invasion of Alexander in India, the Greek writers have described the North Indians as dark-skinned men as "Tall in stature ..They were blacker than the rest of men, except the Ethiopians." Again the Greek traveller Ktesias¹ met two Indian at Persepolis during the reign of the Achaemenids and he described them as "lank, tall in stature, dark and with long hair." This description fits the description of the men of the Punjab even to-day ! On these accounts, it is not possible to deduce any anthropological conclusion from artistic drawings in which the artist in order to give a harmony to colours or to give a figurative meaning may not be anthropologically accurate in his representation.

And as regards the sarcophagus of Sidon, Prof. Mahaffy says:² "In nobility of type and beauty of countenance the artist clearly gives the palm to the Persians. But they are all represented with blue eyes and reddy hair, this too for artistic reasons, for black hair on swarthy skin would have marred the harmony of colour which pervade the composition."³ But it is noteworthy that in this piece of

¹ Arrian's "Anabasis of Alexander and India" translated by E. V. Rieu, p. 251.

² J. P. Mahaffy, "A Survey of Greek Civilization," pp. 235-237.

³ The present-writer though he has not been to Persia yet has met in three continents Persians from different parts of the country, even some Persians hailing from Pasargadae (ancient Persepolis); but he has not met any blonde Persian. Further, he has met Indian and European travellers after their return from Persia, but they did not report about the blonde Persians. It seems, some old piece of news which may not have been accurate is being repeatedly quoted to prove the 'Nordic' origin of the Achaemenids ! Central Asiatic peoples contain elements with grey and blue eyes. These elements may have infiltrated in Persia, Afghanistan and India in historical periods. The Yue-Chi with grey eyes and red beards are examples of it and they ruled over a large portion of Central-Asia and India.

architecture, the Greeks and the Macedonians have not been represented as blondes! Similarly, one of the Ajanta paintings depict a cavalry charge of five Indian soldiers. In it the faces of the cavalymen have been painted red! But no one will take the South Indians of 400-700 A.D. as having red faces, and hence of northern origin! Hence, it is not possible to interpret these figurative artistic compositions as proofs of somatological facts.

Now let us return to our former theme about the discovery of the urn-fields in Indo-European-speaking regions of the Eurasian belt. We have spoken about the hypothesis of de Michelis which identified the cremationists with a racial group of the Danube Valley. According to him the cremationists radiated from Hungary and they were Aryans. But Childe¹ militates against him and others like Ridgeway, who identify the custom of cremation with a particular race, as he says, that no single race is identifiable, to which cremation custom can be treated; and it cannot be proved that the cremation system originated in and radiated from central Europe. But as we have seen that the practice of cremation is to be found in the Indo-European regions of the Eurasian belt, and that brachycephalic peoples are still found to be living in those regions, we cannot wean our minds from the fact that the brachycephals were connected with the rite of cremation.² But it is not possible to identify a race with particular somatic characteristics with this custom as it is to be seen in Neolithic Central Europe³ where according to Childe both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic skulls have been discovered, and again in Chalcolithic *Indus Valley culture* of India where skulls of diverse forms have been found out.⁴ Nor is it possible to identify a people of particular culture

¹ V. Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² Ripley says, "And yet over in Italy the new culture of bronze and of incineration seems to be borne by a broadheaded people of the same type as the modern one. Thus, for example at Novilara so long as the bodies were all inhumed the people were of the long-headed Mediterranean type. On the other hand when incineration begins to appear in this place, the human remains still left to us are of a mixed and far more broadheaded type." "The Races of Europe" p. 500.

³ In Central European Hallstatt cultural area, two distinct burial customs denoting possibly two separate peoples have been discovered. According to Ripley the inhumers were certainly of one order; and the skulls from this layer was distinctly of longheaded type. The layer at the Necropolis of Hallstatt containing ashes was the latter. Ripley says the inhumers were the Mediterranean and over them swept the broadheaded Alpines who cremated their dead. *Vide* Ripley, "The Races of Europe," pp. 495-502.

⁴ W. Z. Ripley, "The Races of Europe," pp. 498-502; Sir John Marshall, "Mahenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization" Vol. I.

and ethnic characteristics with a particular biotype. As regards the Indo-Europeans the matter is still *sub judice*. At present, it is futile to identify the original Indo-European-speaking people with a particular biotype. It is rather a philological-ethnological grouping. The "Aryan" stands for a certain culture in which the urn burial is a concomitant part, and this urn-burial is clearly recorded in the book prescribing the rites and ceremonies that are to be observed in Indo-Aryan households. Further, this urn-burial was followed in post-Vedic India as attested in the Buddhist texts and Puranas.¹ Again, the urn-burials have been discovered in the Indus Valley and in Baluchistan.² These coincidences would lead us to accept that the Indo Aryans in prehistoric and historic periods practised urn burial. And as this custom is to be found in Persia and the Near East in the regions where Indo-European-speaking peoples have been living, this coincidence would again lead us to accept that these cremators belonged to Indo-European culture group. In this matter we have seen that the Mitannians spoke a language very similar to Sanskrit, and it belonged to the Satem group of Indo-European language, and the language of the Hittites contained an element of the centum group.³ On these accounts, it can be stated that this region of the Near East falls within the Indo-European cultural influence.

¹ In Maha-Parinibban Sutta (The Book of the Great Decease) the burial of the bones and ashes of Buddha and rising of chaitya (cenotaph) over them are described. Again, the Agni Purana speaks of gathering of the bones of the deceased (Ch. 158.18). This gathering of the bones would presuppose an urn-burial.

² Formerly Baluchistan was a part of Sindh, vide "Chach-Nama." The peoples of Las Bela speak a dialect of Sindhi, vide Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India."

³ V. Childs, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

SOME PROBLEMS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

S. C. GOSWAMI, ESQ , I.S.O., B.A., B.T ,
Inspector of Schools, Assam.

I WISH to discuss below a few of the most urgent problems of our Primary Education, and all my remarks to follow will mainly bear on the vernacular educational system of our country. I should explain at the outset, that the suggestions I give below are borne out by my experience in educational administration and they are intended to show how improvement in our educational system can be effected even with the means which we at present possess.

We have just entered into a fresh and new phase in our constitutional history. The provinces are now fully autonomous and subjects like education are under the full control of the ministers appointed from amongst our own popular representatives. The people therefore entertain hopes that the Governments will lay out bold policies of reform and improvement. In regard to education, there is a great deal which can be achieved without too much additional expenditure.

The desire for education is now so extensive that, provided there were funds, there would be no limit to the expansion of elementary, as well as secondary, education in our country.

Apart from the large number of Government, aided, Board and recognised schools, there are an equally large number of unrecognised schools scattered all over the country. These schools are not within the recognised system of the Government. But they are the index which shows how ardently new schools are desired every where. Even during the financial depression, which has not still lifted, and when almost all other activities stood still, the number of schools and pupils rose continually.

The main problem of expansion of education, particularly of primary education, is the problem of finding money. This is a very complicated and difficult problem ; and I do not propose to discuss this here. I wish to content myself by saying that this is a problem which demands very careful thought from all of us, and some bold action from our new Governments.

But even within the funds which we now spend for primary education, certain very desirable re-organisation is possible.

I wish first to take up for attack the system of dual control of primary education that has been in vogue for nearly half a century. I mean the control of primary education by the Local and Municipal Boards on the one hand and the Departments of Education on the other. In what follows I must not be understood to be finding fault either with the local bodies or the Education Departments. My criticisms are solely on the dual system. Everybody recognises that this system has not been working very satisfactorily. That it has been working at all, and with not much noise, is due to the well-known desire of both the local bodies and the Education Departments to promote educational interests. That there has not been much clash is not due to the soundness of the system, but to the fact that personal equations have played a great part in its work throughout these years. Nevertheless, discipline in schools has grown slack, the quality of teaching has suffered, and instances have arisen which clearly indicate that the system has outlived its usefulness and requires a thorough overhauling.

The obvious remedy is to place primary education completely either under the control of local bodies with minimum supervision from the Education Department, or under the Department itself. I do not propose to discuss the merits or demerits of either course. Personally I am fully convinced that with proper management, primary education may thrive under local bodies as much as under Departmental control. The great defect of the present system is that neither the local bodies nor the Department feel responsible in this most important matter. Things therefore drift ; and efficiency is impaired. There is none on whom responsibility for mismanagement or deterioration can be fixed. If any one body is made responsible for the business, these remediable defects will disappear.

The soundest policy in this matter, in my view, will be to constitute small separate Education Boards to administer primary education in each Subdivision. The Inspectors of Primary Schools, *i.e.*, the Sub-Inspectors of Schools, must then be officers of this Board. Most of them are officers of Government, so they do not feel themselves responsible to the executive of the Local Boards, who control primary education. In each Subdivision there may be a Government Inspector whose business will be to supervise the Boards' schools

and to see that a fair standard of education is maintained in them. He will be the agent of the Government to ensure that money raised and given for education is properly spent ; and that facilities provided for education are properly and fully utilised. He will not interfere in the details of administration, *i.e.*, the appointment, transfer, dismissal and punishment of teachers, purchase of furniture and equipment and their distribution, and such other things. All these must be left to the Controlling Authority that is the Education Board. A system like this will give the Boards responsibility with authority. The Government in the Education Department also will have a hold upon the Boards and may call upon them to explain if and when things go wrong.

The District Education Boards, provided for in the Bengal Act, are, in my view, too big. They would not be able to administer primary education efficiently, and would be costly.

This is a reform which costs no money just at present, and may save some in the future.

The second problem which is of equal importance is the distribution of primary schools. The history of the growth of our primary schools is a very haphazard one. Schools have been established and subsequently absorbed into the Local Board system in areas where there was an influential man to start a school and press its claim insistently on the authorities ; or in areas which are conveniently situated from the point of view of inspection. Other areas in more out-of-the-way localities have been neglected. In the result in certain areas there are too many schools and certain other areas go without a school. It is time that this uneven distribution is done away with. Where schools are too close to one another they may be amalgamated ; and new schools provided in unschooled areas. In many local areas, there are sufficient number of schools to cover the whole area with a network of schools in such a way that no boy need keep away from a school for difficulty of reaching it. But even in these localities, because the schools were not started where they were needed, but in places where they came to happen, there are considerable areas where boys cannot conveniently attend a school. This re-distribution is not an easy task. It will arouse much controversy and bad feeling. Nevertheless this is a task to be faced and faced at this stage. For, every day that passes makes the problem more difficult.

My suggestion is that each Subdivision should be carefully

mapped out according to area and population, and places for Boards' schools should be definitely marked. The Board should provide schools only in these places ; and any outcry for schools in other places should be definitely and sternly ignored. This is a work which the officers of the Education Department should be able to do in consultation with the Local Boards.

The next problem is about the very low attendance of our primary schools. There has been much talk of wastage in our primary schools. The phrase means that more than 70 p. c. of the boys who attend a primary school do not complete the course. The ultimate result is that this 70 p. c. remains as illiterate as if they had never been to a school. This represents huge waste of money and effort. This state is due to the fact that attendance in primary schools is not regular and there is no means to enforce attendance. I submit that a sort of partial compulsion should be introduced in our schools. I mean this. There will be no obligation on a guardian to admit his child into a primary school. This would of course mean compulsory primary education ; and we have no money to attempt it just now. But once a guardian admits his child into a primary school, means should be found to induce him to keep his charge till he completes the course, and to see that his school attendance does not fall below 80 p.c.

This can be done by a comparatively simple legislation, and will cost but little extra money.

A course of action like this will give an added responsibility to our educational authorities and to our teachers. Once you ask a man to keep his son for so many years in school, you have the responsibility to see that his progress from class to class is regular. This means more efficient teaching than we can give now.

Now I must say that our primary school teachers as a class are honest and hard workers ; but they cannot overcome difficulties which are inherent in the system. When a man without any training has to take charge of 50 or 60 children in 5 classes his task becomes really difficult. We must therefore see that additional teachers are provided in big primary schools and the teachers are trained in the method of handling more than one class at the same time. Both these of course involve additional expenditure. If we want to spread literacy, this additional expenditure must be faced ; it will not be much ; if both Government and local bodies wanted to do it, the money could be found.

For the present, my suggestion is that whatever new money is found for primary education should be spent on more and better teachers than to establish new and inefficient schools. I must not however be understood to say that I am opposed to more schools. My ambition has been to provide one primary school in every village ; and one middle school for every five primary schools. What I want to say is that for the purpose of increasing literacy in our mass people, it is more important to see that the schools we have are efficient than to establish more inefficient schools.

Another very important problem of educational administration is the maintenance of school houses and provision of school equipment. The Local Board budgets generally provide only a very little money for these purposes, for the simple fact that they have no money to spare after paying salaries of teachers ; and the demand for new schools is so insistent that the Local Board executive is tempted to spend the money it has for new schools than to spend it for the improvement of the old ones. Ultimately the burden of maintaining the school house and providing the equipment falls on the poorly paid teacher. This is of course not just and it does not work. Things have come to such a pass that the most neglected house in the village or on the roadside is the school house. It has been a standing joke with many travellers to point out to the most dilapidated house on the roadside as the school house of the village.

Here again is a problem which merits our careful consideration. There is no question that this most essential charge of school administration can be left to the teacher, as we are at present doing. The Local Boards and the Government must devise means to find the money that is needed, or to get the work done without directly raising the money. Here also some bold action is called for.

There are various other problems in connection with our primary education. But there will be no space to discuss them here. I must however mention another problem which is not less important or less urgent than the establishment of primary schools itself.

The Census Reports lament about relapses into illiteracy. They prove by figures that many persons who had attended school as a child for a number of years and had learnt to read and write forget their little learning when they grow into manhood.

The only reason for this is that after the child leaves his school, he is cut off from all literary pursuits. He has no book or no newspaper to read. Such books or newspapers that exist are either too costly or too uninteresting.

Now the provision of reading material in suitable form, in sufficient quantity, of varied quality, and most of all at a cheap cost should be a principal duty of the authority who is in control of primary education. This fact we have ignored up till now ; but we should no longer do so.

The establishment of libraries in suitable centres, the institution of Circulating Libraries, and the preparation and publication of popular books and periodicals are the ways to combat with this evil. In a system of primary education, adequate provision should be made for these purposes.



PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN GEOGRAPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY.

DR. S. P. CHATTERJEE, M.SC., T.D., (LOND.), PH.D. (LOND.),
DOCTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITÉ (PARIS), F.G.S.

The University of Calcutta organised for the first time a special course for Geography teachers in April, 1937, with a view to improving the standard of teaching Geography in Secondary Schools of Bengal and Assam. A large number of schools from all over Bengal and some parts of Assam deputed their teachers to this course, but owing to the limited number of seats more than 105 could not be admitted during the term. Of these 85 were graduates in arts and science, 6 were graduates in teaching and 7 had the Master's degree in science and arts of this University. The rush and nature of the applications for admission to the course indicate clearly that there exists a keen desire among our Secondary School teachers—trained and untrained—to acquire a thorough geographical knowledge.

The success of this course is due largely to the sympathetic attitude of our learned Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., who established a personal contact with the teacher-students on the day of the opening of the course. In welcoming them the Vice-Chancellor pointed out the importance of Geography which has been included in the list of compulsory subjects in the New Matriculation Syllabus and appreciated the keenness of teachers to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the University.

I was placed in charge of the course, and was assisted by four lecturers in carrying out the programme of work. Classes were held mainly in the Asutosh and Darbhanga Buildings and some in the Commercial Museum and Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

The special features of the course were the following :—

- (1) Scientific approach to the study of Modern Geography.
- (2) Demonstration of model lessons with a view to indicating the right method of teaching.

(3) Emphasis on Practical work: (a) Laboratory and (b) Field Work.

(4) Arrangement for Geographical Excursions.

The detailed syllabus was printed and distributed to the teachers.

Lectures were copiously illustrated by maps, models, pictures and map projections from epidiascope for better understanding of the basic principles. The scientific aspect of the subject was emphasised by showing chemical and physical experiments at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

General principles of teaching were explained. Model lessons were given by the lecturers to pupils brought from Mitra Institution (Main) for the benefit of teachers, some of whom showed exceptional ability in handling the class.

Laboratory work consisted of map-projection, map-drawing, interpretation of topographical, weather and climatic maps. Meteorological observations were taken by each teacher at the Association and were recorded in their practical record book. They were assisted by a University lecturer and several research scholars of the Association. Identification of commercial products, minerals and rocks were carried on in the Museum.

The field work consisted of surveying. Uses of plane table, prismatic compass, chain and theodolite were explained. Teachers worked in groups and surveyed the compound attached to the Presidency College by chain, prismatic compass and plane table. The records were entered in the field book and subsequently plotted by each teacher in the drawing class.

The following excursions arranged by the department proved immensely successful and the teachers were highly satisfied as the reality of teaching the subject was brought home to them. Lecturers always accompanied the teachers and gave all possible help. A brief account of the excursions is given below :—

(i) Indian Museum: Two batches each consisting of about 50 teachers visited the Museum on two different days. Each batch was again subdivided and was shown agricultural and commercial products, rocks and minerals. The various geological ages and working of some minerals were briefly described.

(ii) Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd. : More than 100 teachers visited the firm. The authorities were kind enough to take them round and explain the operations of manufactures of

tinctures and essences and medicinal products, sera and vaccines and scientific instruments, and vitamin assay. The lecturers also explained the details of some of the processes. The visitors were treated to light refreshment and given presents of some of the preparations by the firm.

(iii) Botanical Gardens (Sibpur) : All the teachers went to the garden to have an idea of the various plants and trees. The Director of the Botanical Gardens was good enough to depute the Curator who explained the details in a very simple and interesting manner. The teachers highly appreciated his remarks and took notes.

(iv) Trigonometrical Survey Office (Photo-Litho Office) : The teachers were taken in two batches on two different days. Each batch was again divided. The Officer-in-charge of photo-litho work and his assistants took great pains in explaining and showing the various operations involved in the making of maps such as photography of survey work, mosaic work, powder photography, litho work, making of blocks, printing, proof-reading, colouring the details, final printing and mounting of maps.

(v) Air Survey and Transport, Ltd., and Aerodrome : Teachers went in reserved buses and first visited the Air Survey and Transport, Ltd. They were divided into four groups and were shown by the officials how aerial photographs taken by specially designed camera from various heights are plotted and by mosaic work plans of large plots are prepared and checked by field work. They thus gained clear idea of the preparation of topographical and geological maps of otherwise inaccessible regions.

The teachers next went to the aerodrome where they saw and examined the mechanism of an aeroplane. They were fortunate enough to see the landing of the *Arora*, the largest mail-carrying plane of the Imperial Airways. They also saw how an aeroplane starts flying.

(vi) Kidderpore Docks: The teachers were shown work in a dry dock. They went up a cargo ship and examined the various parts of the ship. They were glad to see the working of a sluice gate.

(vii) Meteorological Observatory, Alipore: The teachers went in two batches on two days. The meteorologist kindly deputed two of his assistants to explain how observations were taken. The mechanism of instruments such as thermograph, barograph, hygrograph, hyetograph, anemometer, sunshine recorder, nephroscope and seismograph was shown and explained to them. It was also shown to them how

accurate time is recorded by astronomical methods. Next it was explained how earthquake shocks are recorded in seismograph and their epicentre located. They also saw the starting of a balloon the course of which was followed by means of a theodolite with a view to finding velocity and direction of wind at various heights for the guidance of pilots of aeroplanes.

(viii) River trip to Diamond Harbour: One of the Port Commissioners' steamers (*Buckland*) was reserved for the trip. The characteristic features of the course of the river Hooghly were explained. The utility of landmarks and light posts indicating the depths of the river due to differential silting in the bed was pointed out. They also noted the rise of the water during tide. The teachers thoroughly enjoyed the trip. Variety entertainments such as songs, caricatures and games were special features. There was also an arrangement for refreshment.

The teacher-students organised a social, the Vice-Chancellor being the chief guest of honour. The guests enjoyed thoroughly the music, recitation, dramatic scenes and comic sketches performed by the teachers. The Vice-Chancellor remarked that he was glad to find that the teachers possessed such a keen sense of humour and excelled in such extra-academic activities.

At the end of the term an examination was held, the Board of Examiners consisting of six members. The examiners were highly satisfied with the work of the candidates, all of whom were successful and eleven obtained distinction.

The successful candidates were awarded certificates by the University. At the time of giving away the certificates the Vice-Chancellor congratulated the teachers and said that they had proved how hollow were the remarks of the unsympathetic critics on the present generation of teachers. The Vice-Chancellor added that it was the lack of proper facilities in training that had rendered the teaching inefficient in schools and that the teachers, who just completed their training at the University, had definitely proved that our teachers stood equal to teachers of any other part of the world in their keen desire to acquire knowledge with a view to discharging their duties efficiently.

The teachers next arranged a farewell meeting. The lecturers congratulated them for the right spirit they had maintained throughout the course, especially on occasions when they had to work for over 12 hours a day in hot summer, and explained to them how they could further geographical knowledge by working on home geography.

LIFE PRINCIPLE IN MAN

SACHINDRA NATH CHATTERJEE, M.A.

AMONG the philosophers and scientists of the last century the question of life's origin gave rise to many speculations, but none seemed more fantastic than a forlorn suggestion from Lord Kelvin that life was brought into this planet by some stray meteorite. Assuming that he was in earnest, the only use for his explanation was to show the straits to which science had been reduced in its attempt to bridge the gulf between living organism and inorganic matter. Fortunately, since the days of Lord Kelvin, excursions of science into the domain of the unknown have revealed possibilities beyond the dreams of the earlier generations. Though we are yet far from the stage when life could be produced in a chemical laboratory, the simple phenomenon of a living organism arising from primordial conditions, and appearing on the surface of the earth through a series of natural processes, without extraneous aid, need not be regarded as inconceivable or outside the bounds of probability. The cardinal truth can no longer be denied that life has traversed a long way from the lowliest microbe to highest forms in the course of its evolution. The scientist of to-day is provided with a mass of evidence which it requires the disingeniousness of an incurable fundamentalist or the prejudices of a religious bigot to explain away. We have the evidence of the geologist to show the age of the earth's crust-formations. The fossils that have been found embedded in stratified rocks and classified by the palaeontologist relate a fairly connected account of the structural constitution of prehistoric birds and animals. The extinct species of giant gourds, sloths, armadillos, iguanodons and other dinosaurs bear eloquent testimony of the last battle they had fought in the onward march of life. In the embryos of mammalian species, this interesting history of life's evolution is faithfully reproduced, while the vestigials in the human and animal physiology serve no other purpose than to remind us of their past utility. It is well known that the experiments of the botanist have brought forth new varieties of plants, flowers and agricultural produce. In every branch of science we are now faced with facts which point to the rock-firm certitude of evolution. The so-called

“missing links” which in the days of Charles Darwin formed the principal stock-in-trade of the anti-evolutionist do not present any serious problem now-a-days in the way of scientific learning. In more than one instance a complete chain has been established in the development of reptiles into birds, and the cranium finds of the anthropologists in Rhodes, Heidelberg, Java and Pekin have proved beyond question the descent of man from an early anthropoid group. Thus, the cherished dream of religion that man was brought into the world as an act of special creation has been shattered once for all, and in its place we have conjured up the spectre of an endless strife through which the life principle is seen to have worked its way towards self-revelation in man.

Self-preservation is the most primitive of all instincts in living beings. We seek pleasure and avoid pain, and this is but another name for self-preservation. Every living being instinctively flies away from imminent danger. When it attacks, it does so in self-defence, or with a view to obtain food-supply. All round the living organism, Nature has built up an unfavourable, if not a positively hostile, environment, and in order that the organism might survive, reaction on and adjustment to changing conditions becomes more or less a compelling necessity. By a process of natural selection which may perhaps not inaptly be described as responsiveness of the species to acts of self-preservation, the organism discards the elements that are harmful to its growth while such bodily characteristics and variations as are likely to prove beneficial to its kind are retained and developed. We need not discuss here the present-day controversy raging round the view propounded by Wiesmann that the Lamarckian transmission of acquired characters is untenable. Whatever might be the nature of hereditary transmissions, it must be admitted that the genius of the species evolved weapons, offensive and defensive, from within itself, and these were retained so long as changes in the environment did not render them altogether unnecessary. In this way, the instinct of snakes developed a pair of fangs to bite, and the spotted coat evolved for the leopard made it easy for him to hide in the jungles. The bee-hives, cobwebs and birds' nests are some of the finest specimens of instinctive acts. We can very well imagine that there is no conscious purpose behind these acts. They are nevertheless as good as any product of rational thinking and outwardly look quite purposive.

Together with and alongside this instinct a special faculty, known as intellect, grew up in higher forms of animal life and gradually found its fullest expression in the field of man's consciousness. As in the case of instinct, self-preservation lies at the root of intellectual faculty, but its mode of work is altogether different. Unlike instinct which develops instruments from within the organism itself, intellect converts outside materials into tools, using them for its own ends. Thus, through the exercise of intellect a chimpanzee is able to break the branch of a tree and use it as a stick. It is possible that the stone implements of the prehistoric man were fashioned in a similar way. It would be readily noticed that instinct works within narrow grooves of habitual repetition, mechanically and blindly. The spider weaves the same pattern all through its life and is constitutionally incapable of making the slightest change in the design of the cobweb. The reason is that the instrument was instinctively evolved by collective variation in the species and not by the intellectual effort of any particular individual. The materials from which intellect selects its tools are numerous, and this act of choice brings into play a certain power of discrimination. As the necessity grows, newer means have to be devised with the result that intellect is freed from the cycle of mechanical performances to which instinct is a perpetual slave.

It need not however be assumed that like Kipling's East and West, intellect is intellect, instinct is instinct, and the twain shall never meet. As a matter of fact the two are so intertwined that it is not possible to draw a line where instinct ends and intellect begins. In every act of instinct, there is an element of intellect and the contrary is true likewise. When the male cuckoo decoys the crow into a fight to enable the female cuckoo to lay her egg in the nest, a gleam of intellect is clearly discernible. The three-year old boy Illezart, playing on a piano with the skill of an adept displayed a quality which is akin to instinct in every respect. The truth seems to be that the composition of the two is not entirely different. They take their rise from a common source and proceed along different lines of development, culminating in the wonderful instinct of birds and insects on the one hand, and in the thorough-going intellectual genius of man on the other.

It was a glorious day in life's history when the intellect of man emerged triumphant over the stereotyped repetitions and, equipped with unending resourcefulness, began to work on the materials of

the external world. In this wonderful achievement, he was assisted by physiological changes, the most important of which was the development of a capacity in the legs to support the weight of the body. Unlike the quadrupeds walking on all fours, he was free to employ his hands to the best advantage of the individual and the race. As efforts towards self-preservation and search for food no longer utilized his fullest energies, the surplus in him sought for a new expression. Reflection was necessary to judge the merits of respective means. Gradually, the way was prepared in abstract thinking

In the practical experience of man there are instances in which what was originally a means came to be regarded as an end in itself. The case of a miser is an oft-quoted example. The value of money lies in the comfort it is able to secure, but the miser deprives himself of comfort and takes pleasure in accumulating wealth. In much the same way, intellect which was originally developed solely for the purpose of self-preservation began to be looked upon not as a means, but as an end. The conquest of nature of human intellect led to the identification of knowledge not only with power but with virtue itself. Logic and reason, while giving shape to practical thinking acquired an abstract value as being the quintessence of Reality. Archimedes thought that, by planting his lever on a fixed point, he could dislodge the universe from its assigned position. Laplace conceived a vast intelligence for whom "nothing would be uncertain—the future as well as the past would be present to his eyes." The biblical phrase, God made man in his own image, is illuminating. The Hegelian aphorisms—"whatever is, is rational" and "thinking is willing"—mark the high tide of rationalistic philosophy. The canonisation of reason is complete when it is employed to prove or deny the existence of God. There is no mystery which human intellect cannot unravel—all that is needed is a forward policy. Such rationalism Nietzsche describes as the Apollonian view of life.

But there is another way of looking at things. From the earliest times man has felt that knowledge is not like a citadel which can be taken by storm—that reason is but a feeble candle whose straggling rays illumine but a small part of the dark processes, the mysterious workings of that stupendous force which, euphemistically we describe as Nature. According to this view; which again Nietzsche calls Dionysian as opposed to Apollonian, humanity occupies a place in the hierarchy of nature not far removed from the lowlier manifestations

of life. Man is tossed about like flotsam and jetsam on the crest of waves in a storm-swept sea. He has explored the sky with his telescope and examined the constituents of the minute with his microscope—but what is mightier than the mighty and minuter than the minute, অণোরণিয়ান্ মহতো মহিয়ান্, remains for ever beyond his ken. It is no doubt true that in these days of scientific advancement nature is yielding some of her cherished secrets, but she has never revealed what exactly she herself is. We know that electrical energy in the form of electrons and protons constitutes the basis of all kinds of matter, but can anybody say what this electrical energy is? Light is a form of radio-active energy or electro-magnetic wave which does not admit of picturability. The modern scientist has plainly confessed his failure to penetrate the essence of reality and is inclined to view events in space and time as

——“ no other than a moving row
Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go.”

Sir James Jeans says in his mysterious universe “ many would hold that, from the broad philosophical standpoint, the outstanding achievement of twentieth century physics is not the theory of relativity with its welding together of space and time, or the theory of quanta with its apparent regulation of the laws of causation or the dissection of atom with the resultant discovery that things are not what they seem ; it is the general recognition that we are not yet in contact with the ultimate reality.”

In the region of human psychology, inspite of all explanations that reason has to offer the mystery is nowhere nearer solution. Underneath our field of consciousness we have a whole heap of the unconscious which is never accessible to reason. The famous paradox of Pascal that “ heart has Reasons of which Reason knows nothing ” has become almost too classical to need elucidating. In the darkest recesses of our being, blind strivings, restless cravings and passionate instincts hold a sway which, in the mature consideration of reason, is irreverent and unholy. The truth however remains that, in this phantasmagoria of fleeting desires and passions, we may, if we will, look for a common ground where animal instincts meet with their prototypes in man. The crowning achievement of psycho-analysis has been to expose the part which “ repression ” and “ censor ” play in the make-up of human personality—that is to say, how

thoughts, repugnant to our feelings and social habits are ruthlessly suppressed giving rise to a course of action which is inexplicable from a rational point of view. According to Sigmund Freud, "religion in its beginning is a mere misrepresentation of sex ecstasy, and even higher forms of religion is full of idealised sex emotions." From the depth of the unconscious, man has set up a wet-nurse in the shape of God, a mere projection of the fear of grown-up children. In our dreams when censor is removed from the gateway of mind, the whole arena becomes the playground of promiscuity—unbridled thoughts and emotions rise in a surging tide and completely overwhelm the sanity, so often displayed in our waking moments.

Within human body itself, there is ample evidence of an incessant struggle, resulting in the survival of the fittest. We know that in our blood composition, leucocytes or white corpuscles are charged with the special duty of keeping the system free from bacteria. They fight bacteria, much in the same way as a policeman runs down thieves and cutthroats and if, unfortunately, through some mischance they lose the battle, loss of vitality, disease or even death follows as a matter of course. In such an event, if endowed with human consciousness, the bacteria as victors would have good reasons for thanksgiving, even as we offer prayers to God on our recovery from serious illness.

In every living organism there is a will to live. In Schopenhauer's philosophy we find this will to live proceeding blindly from form to form in an ever-increasing degree of maturity along the path of evolution. "Life is assured to the will to live; the form of life is an endless present, no matter how the individuals, the phenomena of Idea, arise and pass away in time like fleeting dreams." With these words Nietzsche acclaims the Dionysian view and in his intrepid enthusiasm develops this will to live into will to power. It is not enough for a living being to exist merely—he wants to extend his powers over others, exploit them for his own benefit and thereby transcend himself. In every age life has transformed itself to a higher order. So says Nietzsche, "I teach you the super-man. Man is a thing to be surmounted. What is ape to a man? A jest or a thing of shame. So shall man be to super-man—a jest or a thing of shame."

That will-to-live or will-to-power is a dominant factor in life's evolution none may reasonably question. But, at the same time, it

would be a mistake to suppose that such self-regarding qualities have alone contributed to the intellectual, moral and material progress of the human race. It is not the will to power, so much as the development of an aesthetic and moral sensibility, a sense of harmony, that has made man what he is. The energy of man was not fully exhausted in his search for food and shelter, and the surplus in him brought him in touch with the true, good and beautiful. It is well-known that the artist and the poet feel an inner urge which far transcends a mere desire for subsistence or popularity. Great poets and artists there have been whose lot was to suffer, and yet not for a moment had the muses forsaken them. The expression, "Art for art's sake" is not without an element of truth. The artist's delight is to give rhythmic expression to his own imagery, the strain of sympathy that links human life with nature. Behind all we see of nature's maddening strife, there is an under current of beautiful harmony which, through the long chain of biological evolution, is for ever seeking to find itself. Like the subsoil water gushing through a desert spring, Nature has at last found a way to self-expression in the artistic genius of man. Who of us does not admire the panoramic grandeur of a natural scenery unfolding itself gradually before our eyes? Why should a thing of beauty be joy for ever?

" My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky."

In this feeling of the poet which is shared by the generality of men, is there any sense of possession, of domination, or of power? It is our kinship with Nature's inner harmony which by striking a sympathetic chord produces in us an ecstasy of joy.

By an act of the mind which is spontaneous and direct, the artist comes into intimate contact with an undivided whole—a whole which he neither analyses nor reduces into its component parts. Poetry is not merely a rhyming jargon—it is something more. In our mind, it produces the impression of a truth with which we are familiar, but of which we have no knowledge. The psycho-analyst attributes the origin of art to a function of the unconscious while, according to behaviourist psychology, thought is suppressed language. For obvious reasons explanations such as these serve only to deepen the clouds of mysticism, instead of helping us to a clear understanding of the artist's mind.

Equally inexplicable are the flashes of genius which lead to remarkable discoveries and inventions in the domain of science. If intellect alone were sufficient, it would not have been necessary for a Newton or a Kepler to discover laws. Genius perceives truth *intuitively* in very much the same way as the inner vision of the artist detects harmony in mind's relationship with Nature. Intuition of which a true grasp of mental and natural philosophy becomes possible, is neither instinct nor intellect, but partakes of the nature of both. In his creative Evolution Bergeon says. "There are things which intellect alone can seek but which of itself it will never find; there are things which instinct alone can find but which of itself it will never find." Thus, in man a special faculty has evolved which brings him into close relations with all that is true, good and beautiful and gives all insight into its nature with the directness and spontaneity, but without the blindness of instinctive habits. In other words, intuition is instinct illumined.

This intuition is not such an uncommon commodity as we are generally led to believe. As with the entire process of evolution, there is undoubtedly something mysterious about intuition, but in its simplest form, it has a seat in the mind of every one of us, for without it, the cognition of our very self would have been impossible. We feel our self strung through and directing a series of thoughts and acts, looking at itself as a whole from within itself without subdividing the component parts of the stream of consciousness. It requires no argument to bring home the reality of "I." I feel my own entity by a spontaneous and direct process. It was a tendentious and misleading argument that Descartes had advanced in his logical inference—*cogito, ergo sum* (I think, therefore I exist). To have recourse to logic to prove the existence of self is like totalling numbers to create harmony. Harmony is something outside and above the numerical forces of which it is the result and it can be felt as such of the human mind. In a similar way we know our own self not through a discursive analysis of mental processes but by an intuitive sense of reality.

We have seen that instinct and intellect arose from the same stock and proceeded along different lines of development. Is it any wonder then that there should be a synthesis of the two in the personality of man? In the human level, art, morality and religion have appeared with a host of other qualities, *e. g.*, love, piety, patriotism, nobleness

and self-sacrifice—all of which we intuitively feel as true, good and beautiful. It is quite possible to imagine that all human qualities with an altruistic basis sprang from the primitive instinct of self-preservation, but in stressing the point too far the psycho-analyst forgets that these qualities mark a definite stage in the evolution of life, and whatever originally they might have been they are certainly not the old devils masquerading as angels. Strange metamorphoses have occurred in the process of evolution—devils have been transmuted into angels, dross into gold. “ Effect is not cause in disguise ” (Radhakrishnan) ; the lotus springs from the mud, and by chemical analysis, the botanist might feel sure that there are many elements common to both. But who will contend that the lotus, so colourful and velvety, opening its petals to the vibrant touch of the sun’s rays, is only another form of that worthless stuff whose ugliness is concealed under a placid sheet of water ? In the present age, as a result of scientific investigation, our ideas relating to causal relations have undergone a radical change. It has been to the credit of Max Planck to show in his quantum theory that the phenomena of nature do not follow any definite causal laws inasmuch as the effect is found to be indeterminate and discontinuous. In the theory of Emergent Evolution, Alexander and Lloyd Morgan have tried to show how at each stage there has been an emergence of new things, new forms and new qualities. Says poet Rabindranath,—

পলকে পলকে

মৃত্যু ওঠে প্রাণ হয়ে ঝলকে ঝলকে ।

Space-time continuum is the warp and woof of the universe. Things take their shape from space-time, but it is in no sense true that they represent mere modifications, permutations and combinations, of spatial and temporal qualities. Creation is not repetition. Newer forms, newer qualities have emerged out of the flux pervading the universe through all eternity and therein lies the beauty of creation. In humanity, the creative principle is at work as it is working through other forms of life and, though in a different sense perhaps, even in the material world. Like the flame of a lamp, forms and patterns of things and beings appear stationary to our eyes, but within their framework incessant changes are being wrought. This process of creation is continuous as well as discontinuous. It is continuous

because change which constitutes the very essence of creative energy knows no rest, while discontinuity manifests itself in apparent breaks between the living and non-living, plants and animals, and last though not least, between animal mind and human consciousness. To explain the mode of evolution, Bergson gives the illustration of a rocket shooting upward through the air and in the course of flight, discharging a variety of forms and patterns, each left to proceed along its own line of development. A similar view, though in a different form, has been expressed by General Smutts, the South African philosopher-hero in his holistic theory. According to him nature has created wholes in her evolutionary course, each of which, complete in itself, consists of parts and is yet something more than a mere combination. In this hierarchical order, we have in the living beings properties of material objects besides some additional qualities, which are non-existent in matter. Similarly, the instincts of animal life are not the only constituents of humanity in which more often than not, altruistic virtues of an entirely different order are displayed.

Truth is not absolute—it seems to lie in the relation between different objects, and with the change of relations between them, a new truth appears on the scene. The relative truth of a foetus in its mother's womb is no longer available in a fully grown adult. Human body consists of living cells and tissues, but from their combination has emerged the personality of man, the truth of which rests on a plane higher than those of primitive forms of life. Man's relation with the universe stands on a height which is inaccessible to lower animals. Human personality has secured a place in itself from where it can afford to look disdainfully on the incessant strife occurring in nature. It was an immortal song which poet Chandidas had sung several centuries ago:—

সবার উপরে মানুষ সত্য

তাহার উপরে নাই।

Nature is red with tooth and claw but in the higher truth of humanity, a state of perpetual warfare no longer holds good. However unconsciously, every man holds before him an ideal the fulfilment of which brings him nearer to perfection. The will that is working in the lower order of beings as will-to-live or will-to-power manifests itself in man as will-to-perfection. Towards this ideal of perfection—

পূর্ণমদঃ পূর্ণমিদং —man is striving, and this goal need not be derived merely because animal instincts still persist in him.

Individuals may have different ideals, but they all desire self-fulfilment through their realisation—and what is self-fulfilment if not perfection? To a robber, his chief may be the embodiment of perfect virtues; to a soldier, Alexander or Julius Caesar, Genghis Khan or Napoleon may be an ideal hero whose example he tries to emulate. According to his inclination, training and environment, the individual formulates his plan for an ideal life. Towards that end, the will to-perfection that is working in the human race leads him on.

The supreme satisfaction of man does not lie in his domination over others—as a matter of fact, it is only the least part of his civilisation. Greece had reached the zenith of her eminence before she had sallied forth on an expedition of vainglory. Nietzsche's philosophy is particularly fascinating to-day as one of its powerful exponents, I mean Signor Mussolini, has just given a practical demonstration of his will to power and domination. It is conveniently forgotten that the will-to-power which forms the steel-frame of Nietzsche's speculative edifice can never be a one-sided affair and in the clash of wills in supremacy the collapse of modern civilization is inevitable. To any astute observer of life's history, it is obvious that the Will is blundering to-day, as it did many times before the advent of man, the evidence of which we find in the fossil remains of the extinct species.

It is false philosophy to pretend that in the extension of power by one nation over another, there lies true progress for the human race. Self-aggrandisement at the expense of others lays the axe at the very root of humanity. The special qualities evolved by mankind have no counterpart in nature's strife and the lop-sided growth of one race, nation or community on the ashes of another runs counter to the all-pervading will-to-perfection. Man must not be "a jest or thing of shame" for the superman to annihilate him at will. A correct assessment of human values, a search for fellowship, not in the barren field of race prejudices but in the essential unity of spirit in man a true and genuine recognition of that universal truth—
ঐশ্বর্যভাবিত্ব-সদ্ব্যবহার—in short, a sense of kinship between man and man as between man and the universe—on these alone can be based on perfect social order inspired by ideals of morality, self-sacrifice and co-operative harmony. The human family as a whole must develop an instinct

for better realisation of the true, good and beautiful. This may be Utopian, and in view of the clouds spreading their shadows at the present moment over all international affairs must be difficult for realisation. But we need not be incurable pessimists. "Man is a recent comer to this planet ; he is in the early morning of his life. Who looking at a yeast globule or an amoeba when they were the highest form of life could have imagined the oak, the eagle and the lion ? And who, looking now at our present stage of human development, can form any conception of what man may ultimately become." (Sir Oliver Lodge.)



PHILOSOPHY OF THE PAÑCA YAJÑAS *

KRISHNAGOPAL GOSWAMI, SASTRI, M.A., SMṚITI-MIMANSA-TĪRTHA,
Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University.

THE yajña cult according to the Vedic point of view is based upon the all-comprehensive scheme of spirituality which comprises in it the significance of both the subjective and objective morality. It is in this sense that the term has been identified with *dharma* or Law.¹ On the eve of creation, Prajāpati, the Lord of Beings, personated Himself as yajña² and sacrificed Himself on its altar for the fulfilment of the desire of creation. Out of this primeval yajña, Prajāpati created the cosmos and said unto His offsprings, "Let this (yajña) be the fulfiller of desires and by this do you in turn create."³ This creative and purposive element of yajña adequately accounts for the reason why man should participate in the cosmic scheme of yajña. Man, who is evidently a part and parcel of this mundane existence, must therefore assiduously follow the scheme of yajña for the fruition and consummation of his life's purpose. Manu, the celebrated legislator, rightly observes that the performance of yajñas, for psycho-physical organism, is an essential propaedeutic discipline to lead to the realisation of the highest truth Brahman.⁴

The universe is regarded as pulsating with life where every living organism is bound up in one great principle of universal life. The stone or the metal may not evince the sign of life, yet it lives but sleeps, the plant lives not moves, the animal moves and knows and man knows and knows that he knows. Undoubtedly man plays a very significant rôle⁵ in the gradation of creation but the fact that he is indissolubly bound up in one universal life-principle can on no account be denied. And as such he must be called upon to contribute his quota of service to the universe at large and this he can effectively discharge by yajñas.

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1 'Yajñena yajñamayajanta devāḥ tāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan,' R̥gveda X. 9. 16.

2 'Yajñah prajāpatiriti,' Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 9.6. See also R̥gveda X. 90.7 Gītā, III. 10.

3 Ch. II. 28.

5 Cf. 'buddhimatsu narāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ,' Manu, I. 96.

Of the five great sacrifices or *pañca mahāyajñas*, as they are generally called, three are associated with life-long debts¹ which a Vedic Aryan from birth has got to repay during the allotted span of his life. The conception of debt throws no inconsiderable light upon the view that duty is the fundamental principle of the Aryan life where even the dim consciousness of one's selfish rights is looked upon with contempt and disfavour. Unlike the Roman Law, therefore, duty is the supreme fact of Hindu Law or *dharma* which seeks to realise itself in the renunciation of the egoistic consciousness of life. It is in this strain that the *Gītā* enjoins man to do his duty or *karma* to the absolute resignation of one's right or claim to the fruits of the deeds.² By way of implication, therefore, the Vedic Aryan, who discharges the compulsory duties of the *mahāyajñas*, is required merely to 'give' and not to 'ask' for anything in return. The right to take back is beyond the province of life's account, whether it exists or not. With this objective in view, these *mahāyajñas* are prescribed as an item of daily round³ of absolute duties, or *nityakarman*, the omission of which entails dereliction or sin though their performance does not confer any tangible advantage upon the doer.

These *yājñas* are enumerated as follows: firstly, *devayajña* or sacrifice to gods by offering 'homa' oblation in fire, secondly, *brahmayajña* (*ṛṣiyajña*) or studying and teaching the Vedas; thirdly, *pitryajña* or ancestral worship by offering oblations to the departed fathers with which is associated the duty of procreation; fourthly *manuṣyayajña* or the duty of honouring and feeding the guest and lastly *bhūtayajña* or the duty of giving food to animals and degraded spirits.⁴

In the list, the sacrifice to the gods takes the precedence for obvious reasons. In fact gods have influence over human destiny and are collectively in charge of the whole sphere of nature. The whole pantheon of gods represents the varied phases of divine activities of 'One and the same Being.'⁵ Either in creative, promotive or nutritive activities, gods are the bestower of infinite goodness. Man therefore owes everything pertaining to his life and sustenance to these divine powers, which are undeniably the representatives of his Maker. Since it is an ethical postulate that every debt must be repaid, human

¹ 'Jāyamāno ha vai brāhmanastribhi ṛṇai ṛṇavān jāyate'—*Taittirīyaka*, VI. 3. 10. 5.

² Ch. II. 47.

³ See *Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra*, III. 1. 4.

⁴ Cf. *Manu* III, 70, and see also *Yājñavalkya*, I. 102.

⁵ 'ekam sadviprā bahudhā vadanti'—*Rgveda* I., 164. 46.

obligation to gods must be discharged in some kind or other. By deviation from it man incurs sin and is charged with theft and misappropriation. For according to the Gītā “a thief, in sooth, is he that takes their gifts without returning aught.”¹ Sacrifice to gods therefore is the only means to secure one's absolution from this debt of obligation.

The ultimate view however is based upon the principle of mutual payments and repayments where yajña serves as an invariable medium of co-ordination between the two worlds, human and divine, and which is an indispensable necessity for acquisition of the spiritual as well as the temporal good of the universe. The Gītā emphatically declares this mutual harmony in the lines—

“ Thus each in turn brought forth by each
Ye both shall win to Final Good.”²

The process of mutual help is this: when offerings are given to the fire they reach the sun (the centre of the mundane cycle), there they turn into moisture and moisture falls on the earth as rain. Rains produce food which is offered to the gods in turn and it is from food all creatures derive their sustenance.³ The Gītā similarly recognises—

“ In Food all creatures have their birth,
From Rain does Food in turn proceed,
From sacrifice the Fall of Rain,
The Root of sacrifice is Act.”⁴

This is, however, a poetic and metaphorical way of expressing the intimate bond that binds the two worlds in an indissoluble tie. The underlying motive is that gods are moved by sacrifices or yajñas and through them the ruling principle of cosmic life is stirred up to help the well-being of man and through man ultimately the entire phase of creation. Response must be there if the life-principle of the one world is regarded as the self-identical life-principle of the other for which by the law of universal unity a stir of life in one plane must

¹ Cf. Gītā, III. 12.

² *Ibid.*, III. 11.

³ See Manu, III. 76.

⁴ III. 14.

Cf. ‘annād vai prajāḥ prajāyante’—Taittiriya Upaniṣad, II. 2.

produce a necessary repercussion in the other. This in short explains the ideology of the yajña-performance by man.

But the obligation of life cannot be held restricted to the only sphere of the gods or superhuman beings. Though it is primarily conceived as such, yet for its effective realisation it must be viewed to extend over the whole sphere of beings, visible or invisible, past or present, movable or immovable. The world is looked upon by Śāstrakāras as a dynamic organism with equally dynamic elements as its constituents unaffected by any spatial limitations. Thus though we are primarily indebted to the gods, secondarily we are indebted to the thinkers of humanity's good, the seers, the propagators of human race, the fathers, to the members of the society of mankind at large and to the entire domain of beings other than these. And it is to meet this all-pervasive obligation that the other forms of the *mahāyajñas* have also been assigned a place in the list.

Ṛṣis or seers of old are the active well-wishers of humanity and it was for their part to think out the ways and means by which the world would be maintained intact. They represent in them the universal reason at work for which it was possible for them to evolve a mighty system of cultural discipline which is so essential for the cosmic well-being. They performed as it were the cultural yajña to which the higher intellectual phase of life owes its origin. Like Prajāpati, therefore, the sacrifice¹ they rendered binds humanity in a tie of equal obligation which can possibly and fruitfully be discharged by similar performance of cultural yajña by man. The Vedas which represent the fundamental wisdom *par excellence* were revealed to the vision of the ancient seers who transmitted the lore to us by way of cultural tradition. The rites of *ṛṣiyajña* consist of the duty of *adhyayana* (studying) and *adhyāpana* (teaching the Vedic lore). The duty is absolute in kind to be discharged in repaying the debt of the seers. These twofold rites of the yajña secure at once the cultural communion with the minds of the seers of old and the transmission of the treasure to the pupils seeking for it. In studying the Vedas, our inner life is brought into touch with the inner life of the sages who speak through the revelations. The chord of our inner life is thus made to respond to the inspiration of the universal life of reason. In the duty of teaching on the other hand, *Vidyā* or wisdom acquired as a

¹ Cf. Ṛgveda X. 130, 6.

free gift is transferred to the pupil equally as a free gift, and the result is that this compulsory discipline substantially and most successfully helps the propagation of the culture from generation to generation in an unending succession.

Next comes our indebtedness to ancestors who bind us from birth evidently in biological and spiritual debts. As any Science of Eugenics, Garbhopaniṣad ¹ has reasons to maintain that the foetus is made up of six essential elements, the constituents of bone, nerve and marrow are inherited physiologically from the father, and those of flesh, skin and blood from the person of the mother. The child born cannot but look up to its parents for its nourishment and somatic attainments. The apparent consequence of debt therefore is hardly deniable. But the Vedic conception of debt and the mode specially prescribed for its repayment, is quite significant. The debt is repayable by producing good and dutiful sons who it is implied will observe the same religious rites in turn. For it is the imperative daily duty of the sons to offer articles of food and water to the departed spirits.

If any Vedic Aryan who is alive to the difficulty and responsibility of the life of a householder does not take to the order of life-long pupelage as an alternative course ² then with him, it is an obligatory duty to produce the son for the future welfare of his soul, nay the spirits of the ancestors, escape the rigours of the hell ³ if sons are begotten in the family. Therefore to produce dutiful son is his *dharma*. It is not merely the policy of population that underlies the view, but its significance lies elsewhere. Be it remembered that in Hindu India the household is an essential element of the social structure where the duty imposed on a householder of recognising the rights of others on any and every occasion is not to be accounted in terms of self-interest but of social and spiritual welfare. The house is a place where self-abnegation and renunciation are to be practised for the sake of realising the purpose and mission of life. This is why the life of the householder is so highly applauded by our Śāstrakāras.⁴ It maintains and nourishes different institutions of society.⁵ It is by virtue of one's station of life as householder that he is to daily perform the *pañca yajñas*

¹ Quoted in *Mitākṣharī* on *Yājñavalkya*, I. 52.

² See *Hārta*, III. 14.

³ Cf. *Manu*, Ch. IX. 133: see also *Dāyabhāga* V, para. 6.

⁴ See *Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Śāstra*, VIII. 14.

⁵ See *Manu* ch. III. 77-78.

in full consciousness of its far-reaching consequences. Therefore it is by the performance of the householder's duty that the super-personal ethos of mankind is fulfilled and consequently whenever he is to mingle his life-blood with his partner sharing the equal views of life, he must be inspired with the idea of upholding the traditional ideals which his children will inherit, grow up in and in turn pass on. By this consciousness of marriage ideals, the ethos of life is transmitted from generation to generation and thus kept alive to preserve and maintain the vital continuity of the race and this constitutes the basic idea associated with the producing of sons in repaying one's ancestral debt. To produce dutiful sons, imbibed with the ideals of life pitched heavenwards is the *raison d'être* of the great vocation of developing humanity which a Vedic householder should participate in and this constitutes his 'dharma.'

Let us now consider the *pitṛyajña* as it is denoted by the rites of offering food and water to the spirits of the fathers. It is held in our Śāstra that the son represents the replica in which the father's self personates itself anew,¹ and in this way ultimately a great link is traced to cover the whole phase of creation. According to the law of 'karman,' creation entirely runs upon the impulse and motive force of 'karman' or deeds and man is regarded as the central figure of the scheme of creation. He is the *nara* or *netā* (the actor) in the stage of the world which represents but the multitudinous amplification of the one Great Self² in its varied phases. All other creatures on earth are merely humanity in disguise, because it is substantially and essentially man that elevates himself into divinity or degrades himself into the minutest being³ according as in the process of transmigration his karmic energy calls for self-realisation. The relations of a particular man in a certain birth, therefore, lie scattered round that particular man in various forms in his subsequent births. The circle of relations similarly goes on broadening and broadening in respect of every birth of a particular individual. This furnishes the conclusive ground of the postulate that every one of the creation has relatives all around and everywhere. Then the spirits of father's father and so on may be looked up for everywhere. Therefore in *pitṛyajña*, though we directly worship our fathers more extensively and

¹ 'Ātmā hi yañña āmanah—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 13. 6.

cf. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIV. 9. 4. 26.

² 'Sookāmāyata bahū syāṃ prajāyeya,'—Taittirīya Upaniṣad, II. 6.

³ See Sāmkhyakā, 44.

surely we worship the whole world of beings pervaded by the unending tie of cosmic relation. The ' *tarpana* ' hymns आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्तं जगत् तृप्यतु rightly sum up the doctrine. The theory of cosmic relation is what serves as the keynote of the philosophic import of the whole scheme of the *mahāyajña*. Though each of the five *yajñas* is associated with a definite purpose of its own, in its wider implication, each symbolises the great worship of the Universe at large, either explicitly or implicitly.

Two other forms of *yajña* now remain to be discussed. These are respectively the rites of hospitality and offering of food to the animal beings. The ideal embodied in these ceremonials, can easily be deduced from the theory of universal kinship. Since the whole of humanity is integrally bound up in an all-embracing tie of relation, the home of each and all must be viewed as the home of the rest where the rest must find food and shelter whenever needed. The life of a householder is a life of self-renunciation having its manifold obligations to gods and men and therefore the notion of property can by no means be individualistic. Every ' *atithi* ' or guest therefore represents the universal human life who is to be served with food and shelter out of the property that lies at the base of the householder's estate. As such it is not without reason that he is looked upon as Vaiśvānara ¹ or the prototype of the Virāṭ or the Great Being that dominates cosmic life in all its phases. The guest-god therefore should be greeted with all the honour due to the highest principle of life. According to the Śāstra, the man who turns away the guest becomes at once involved in all sin that pertains to cosmic life. The Gītā remarks with poignant accuracy that

“ On sacrificial leavings fed
The good are cleaned of every sin,
While they 'eat sin, the sinful ones
Who cook for their own sakes alone.” ²

Thus by opening hospitable doors to guests one would really discharge the debt one owes to humanity at large and through humanity to the all-embracing cosmic life.

¹ 'Vaiśvānaraḥ praviśatyā'tithiḥ,' Kūṭha Upaniṣad, I. 7.

See also Taittirīya Upaniṣad, I. 11. 2.

² Cf. III. 13.

Coming to the last phase of the sacrifice, we find the lower beings appear before us essentially as man though apparently in disguise. Because it is the unseen power of 'Karma' that has thrown them no doubt below the level where men take their stand. So whenever a being is in need of service and nourishment, whatever be the external visible form in which it appears, it has a right to those rites of service fundamentally as man. We are here to live the universal life in and through the universe in consequence of which we can possibly fulfil the universal life-ethos in this way alone. The debt which is discharged by man in this form of sacrifice is confidently done as one to the whole of cosmic life. We can approach it also from another angle of vision. It is admittedly believed that the one Vaiśvānara as Fire or life-principle ¹ pervades the entire domain of beings which works within us as a strong impelling force demanding always 'to eat food and enjoy the enjoyable.' Every other being on earth is urged alike by it to quench its thirst for food and enjoyments. Thus whenever any article of food and of enjoyment is offered to anyone or to anything of the cosmic world, it is ultimately offered to the same Agni or Fire which is identical with Prāṇa or Cosmic Life. This is the daily Agnihotra that a householder observes and the *Ghāndogya Upaniṣad* ² bears out its truth in equally emphatic terms.

In conclusion therefore it can be safely remarked that the *dharma* or Law upon which is founded the whole procedure of *pañca yajñas*, is what constitutes the supreme Ethics of the Vedic householder. Manu's view on this point may profitably be adduced here. According to him "the gods, the sages, the manes, the guests and the Bhūtas ask the householder (for offerings and gifts) and he who knows (the Law) must give to them (what is due to each),³ and he who thus daily honours all beings, goes endowed with resplendent body straight by the road to the highest resort of life, ⁴ *i. e.*, Brahman or Truth." Yajña therefore seeks to rouse in man the consciousness that the non-individual and supra personal elements are the fundamental facts of life, and the personal life as such is to be continually ordered and regulated in consonance with the comprehension of the universal whole of life. And ultimately the empirical ego is merged into the non-empirical self and it is at this point that the realisation is achieved.

¹ 'Sa eṣa vaiśvānaro viśvarūpaḥ prāṇaḥ,—*Praśnopaniṣad* I. 7, *cf.* *Gitā*, Ch. XV. 14.

² V. 21. 5 See also *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, I. 1.

³ Ch. III. 80.

⁴ Ch. III. 93.

A VISIT TO BRINDABAN

DR. TAMONASHCHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH. D.

Post-Graduate Lecturer, Calcutta University.

JUST on the eve of the Pujas last year I started for Brindaban with a party of nine students belonging to the Sixth Year Indian Vernaculars Department of the Calcutta University *via* Benares and Agra. The object of the tour was to combine the pleasures of an excursion with some enquiries in connection with the Vaisnava period of the Mediaeval Bengali literature and I spared no pains to utilise the brief period of twelve days at my disposal for purpose.

We broke journey at Benares on our way to Brindaban and spent nearly two days hurriedly visiting some places of interest which we thought interesting enough to deserve attention. I may mention, in this connection, the temples of Viswanath and Annapurna, the Hindu University, Sarnath, the Observatory and the Twin Pillars. I was struck by the religious outlook of the Bengali Hindus in contrast with that of the other peoples of India. Last time I happened to visit Puri-Bhubaneswar locality with a batch of students belonging to the Indian Vernaculars Department just as this year I visited Benares. Both the places contain relics of the Saiva cult and preserve associations of Buddhism and Jainism which to some extent subverted or influenced the Hindu cult of Siva. Siva at Bhubaneswar had to contend with the Jaina influence of Khandagiri-Udayagiri while at Benares he had a similar rival in Buddha himself in the neighbouring village of Mrigadava later on known as Sarnath. This place was chosen by Buddha himself as his first preaching centre. In spite of his best efforts perhaps he did not achieve any appreciable success. The Bengali Hindus patronise in a far greater degree the Siva of Benares than they do the Siva at Bhubaneswar. Its chief reason is not far to seek. Orissa has certain folk-lore similar to the folk-songs of Bengal in honour of Siva. Bengal and Orissa being for a pretty long time under one political domination developed many common points of culture and religion having drawn their inspiration from the Non-Aryan South. But when the outlook changed and the agricultural god Siva of Bengal became fully Aryanised, Bengal looked more to

Benares than to Orissa for its religious inspiration. Hence, Benares became a great centre of pilgrimage for the Bengali. This happened to such an extent that the Bengali gradually began to settle at Benares in large numbers and in course of time made the town an adjunct of Bengal. Under the circumstances, the Sivayana literature of Bengal has very little to do with the traditions of the god of Benares, though the Annadamangal of Bharat Chandra has many references to the god and the place. As regards Sarnath the stupendous stupa and the excavations around, inflamed the imagination of the students and made them think of the past greatness of India. The same, however, cannot be said of the recent architecture and paintings of Mulagandhakuti-vihara (a neighbouring building) belonging to a certain Ceylonese organisation. The fresco-paintings here were executed by the celebrated Japanese artist, Mr. Noshu. These seemed excellent indeed, but whether the combination of the ideal of Ajanta School of painting with that of the Japanese School is at all happy—is for connoisseurs to decide.

Leaving Benares we reached Agra on the 15th October. There, we passed two days in sight-seeing. The fine Moghul architecture and sculpture as represented in the Tajmahal, Agra Fort, Sikandra, Itimadud-daullah and Fatehpur-Sikri overwhelmed us. We also admired the workmanship in some other minor buildings of the place. There may not be any connection of these buildings directly with our literature still their cultural value is immense. The beautiful queen of the Mausoleums, the Taj, created an impression in our minds never to be forgotten. The Sikandra, a few miles off from the town, contains the grave of the celebrated Akbar, while the building of Itimadud-daullah, as its name indicates, contains the grave of Itimadud-daullah (Nurjahan's father) and of his family. All these fine buildings are splendid monuments of Moghul architecture. At Sikri the Moghul art is relieved here and there with specimens of Hindu and Chinese arts. Besides, the stupendous gate of Sikri known as the Buland-Durwaza with huge flights of stairs cannot escape one's notice. The grand buildings at Agra overlooking the Taj contain many reminiscences of Sahajahan and Aurangzeb. The buildings as described in our old Bengali literature bear some resemblance to the specimens of architecture in the Up-country so far as hugeness and general plans are concerned. Here we miss, however, our Bāraduari Ghar, Bāngālā Ghar and the huge tanks, but nevertheless there are the

Jaltungi pillars, courtyards and compounds as described in our Bengali literature. Our literature describes a combination of Hindu and Indo-Saracenic art in the construction of towns and buildings, as a natural sequel to the composition of many literary works during Islamic rule in Bengal.

We left Agra on Saturday, the 17th and reached Brindaban the same evening. The whole journey from Howrah to Brindaban in spite of occasional stoppages was extremely tiresome. However, we reached our destination safely. Our stay in the place was for nearly six days, and we finished our work as much as possible with haste within this short time. On reaching the destination our dream was somewhat shaken regarding the idyllic land of Lord Krishna. The present Brindaban is a small town with narrow streets and lanes and closely packed buildings. The town once stood on the very bank of the tortoise-infested Jamuna but now the river has receded considerably from the town leaving only a sandy waste in the intervening space.

Brindaban possesses some fine temples, relics and associations (some genuine and some spurious) in connection with the Vaishnava cult which deserve our close attention, specially as we are interested in Bengali literature which contains many references to Vaisnavism.

Regarding the topography of the place we should make it clear that the present town of Brindaban is situated in the region called Brajamandal which is about 84 *miles* in circumference. The locality was under the Kings of Mathuramandal, Madhuban or Surasena country as it remains to-day under the District Officer of the District of Mathura. Madhuban became famous in the Ramayana story as the place of Laban Daitya evidently a non-Aryan chief, who was defeated and killed by Rama's youngest brother, Satrughna, whose family henceforth ruled the land for a long time. Most of the buildings of the present town of Brindaban are hardly two hundred and fifty years old and its former name was Fakirabad. Yet the traditions of the place are much older than its present buildings and the town began to grow from the days of Sanatana Goswami who belonged to the middle of the 16th century. Both the towns of Mathura and Brindaban stand on the same bank of the Jamuna and there is nothing to prove that they once occupied opposite banks as some scholars would have us believe. The town of Brindaban is only six miles to the west of the town of Mathura. On the opposite bank of Mathura some four miles to the east lies the locality of Gokula. According to a local tradition

there were two chiefs who lived side by side in Gokula. One of them was Nanda Ghosh (foster father of Sree Krishna) and the other was Brikabhanu (father of Sree Radha). Nanda Ghosh's place was known as Mahaban while Brikabhanu's place was known as Raul where Radha was born. Nanda, after keeping baby Sree Krishna in his custody when stolen from the palace of Kamsa, king of Mathura, found it unsafe to remain within so short a distance from Mathura only the river Jamuna intervening. So, he shifted from Gokula and established himself at a place called after him Nandagram which was about 22 miles from Mathura. Brikabhanu also changed his place and settled within three miles from Nanda's new town. Brikabhanu's new place was known as Barshān. Both Nandagram and Barshān are within Brajamandal and are situated along with Mathura on the right bank of the Jamuna and therefore on the same side. The Dan-ghat (*lit.* Toll-collecting Ghat) associated with Krishna's sports with Radha on a boat, is about 19 miles to the west of the town of Brindaban whilst Mathura stands to its east and in this locality is situated the traditional hillock Gobardhan. Both the Dan-ghat on the Jamuna and the Gobardhan are over twenty-two miles from Mathura town. The whole region of Brajamandal, as we were told, is full of pasture lands, and some parts of it, as seen by us, corroborate this fact.

It is very difficult to reconcile the different theories regarding the topography of Brajamandal and Mathuramandal. Some scholars would say that the river originally flowed between the towns of Brindaban and Mathura and now both occupy the same bank owing to the Jamuna changing its course. Unfortunately there is nothing to substantiate or corroborate it although there are some signs of erosion and slight changes in the course of the river. Some would resent even the very name of Radha as fictitious and of later introduction while our whole Vaisnava lyrical literature depends on her existence not only spiritually but also physically to illustrate "parakiyā" amours of Radha-Krishna. Even admitting that there was a Radha the Bengali Vaisnavas of Brindaban will never agree to her carrying milk-pail to Mathura as she was a princess and her father was supposed to have been more powerful than Nanda. If at all she carried the milk-pail and met Sree Krishna on the Dan-ghat, it was at a place far removed from Mathura which stands on the same side with Barshān and Dan-ghat. If we believe in the topography then selling of milk by the Gopis of Brindaban in the market of the Mathura town cannot stand as a credible

suggestion. Then also falls through the consequent amours of Radha-Krishna on the Jamuna. To meet the situation, the Bengali Vaisnavas of Brindaban would invent a myth,—that it was done supernaturally, and thereby the distance was covered. A parallelism is drawn with the opening and closing of petals of a lotus. The closing of petals means shortening the distance and opening up means its lengthening. All of course was possible due to the divine and sportive nature of Sree Krishna. What comment should we make on this ?

The whole topography of the place as it now stands does not support the amours of Radha and Krishna on the Jamuna unless we place the whole scene in Gokula which, as I have already said, lies to the east of Mathura on the other bank of the Jamuna about four miles off. According to the legend Nanla deserted Mahaban in Gokula and went to live in Nandagram in Brajanandal followed by Brakabhānu when Krishna was only a baby. For a mere baby to have taken part in the sports described by Bengali Vaishnava poets is a manifest impossibility. Besides, we know Akrura, the messenger of king Kamsa, invited and took with him Krishna and Balaram from Nandagram and not from Mahaban to Mathura to attend the 'Dhanuryajna' of Kamsa who was ultimately killed by Sree Krishna. At the time Akrura visited Nandagram in Brajanandal Krishna was making love to Radha and other Gopis and performing various feats to astonish his brother cowboys. So the whole scene of the Krishna legend in connection with his love-making to Radha requires to be placed in Brajanandal and not in Gokula, considering the location of the place, unless we take the help of divine dispensation. To account for things, is it reasonable to dismiss all the local identification of places and find out new ones to support the scenes of the Radha-Krishna legend ?

The basis of our own lyrical literature wholly depends on the reality of the amorous sports (*Lila*) of Radha and Krishna by the side of and on the bosom of the river Jamuna. What will be the condition of Dankhanda and Naukakhanda of Sree-Krishna-Kirtan attributed to one Chandidas and the lyrics of other poets if we do not admit their connection with these amours ?

The town of Brindaban, as it stands to-day, owes its origin to the efforts of Sanatana and other Bengali Vaisnava saints known as the Vaisnava Goswamis. How Sanatana built his first temple of Madanmohan with the help of a merchant is a story even now on everybody's lips at Brindaban. After this temple many others

followed, the chief of which are those of Govindaji and Gopinath. Besides these, there are hundreds of other temples. Among them the temple of Sahaji, the temple of Sethji, the temples of Bankubehari, Radha-Damodar, Syamsundar, Radhaballav, Radharaman, Gokulananda, Holkar's temple, Tarash temple, Lala Babu's temple, besides Tarakumar's Asram, Adwaita-bat, Sringer-bat, Tentul-tala, Jamuna Pulin, Kaliya Daman, Brahma Kunda, Nidhuban and Nikunjaban, deserve special notice. Of the above, Madanmohan as we have said was installed by Sanatana Goswami. In this temple many relics of Chaitanya Dev and his followers are found. Unfortunately, the original images of Madanmohan and Radharani are not to be found as they were long ago taken away by the Raja of Karauli. The temple of Gopinath attributed to Madhu Pandit and associated with the family of Nityananda is an important one. The temple of Govindaji, though built by the Raja of Jaipur has Bengali association. It is a remarkably fine specimen of Hindu temple architecture. The temple of Radharaman has associations with Gopal Bhatta Goswami. The temple of Gokulananda possesses the memory of Lokenath, "Sringer-bat" has associations with Nityananda, "Adwaita-bat" of Adwaita and "Tentul-tala" (Tamarind tree shade) of Chaitanya Dev. Under the shade of this latter tree Chaitanya Dev used to sit during his brief visit to Brindaban, meditating about Lord Krishna and the place was once situated overlooking the Jamuna. The temple of Radha-Damodar bears reminiscences of Jib Goswami; the Bankubehari temple of the Nimbarka sect and the Radhaballav temple of the Ballavi sect also deserve mention. The images in the temple built by the Tarash Zemindar family are remarkable for their beauty. It may be mentioned here that almost all the images in various temples are remarkably handsome. The two temples of Sahaji and Sethji and specially that of Sethji may be said to be the grandest in Brindaban. This temple of Sethji is a very fine specimen of Hindu temple-building. Its type is South-Indian and the South-Indian priests prevail there. The temple is attributed to Jagat Seth. Though he was not a South-Indian himself it bears the stamp of that side as his Guru came from that part of India. This temple was built at an enormous cost and maintains a batch of 108 priests. The expenses of the temple are Rs. 365 per diem. We had the fortune to visit the temple during its annual celebration. The whole scene of the Puja and the procession was indeed majestic creating an atmosphere of the old days of Hindu glory. The Gadur Stambha or pillar in the front

courtyard is coated wholly with gold and the people call it erroneously "Sonar Tal-gachh" (golden palm tree). Its height is about twenty-two feet from the base and looks very impressive. Episodes from Hindu mythology have been engraved on the stone walls all around and the images are marvellously executed. The presiding deity of the temple is of course Krishna named Ranganath. The temple of Sahaji has one very special peculiarity. The marble pillars supporting the roof are zigzag in appearance. Nowhere have we seen pillars of this type. These impressed us by the massiveness of their costly stones as well as by the expenses and workmanship entailed in their execution.

A few remarks may now be made as regards the Vaisnava theology and the position of the Bengali Vaisnavas in Brindaban. The Bengali Vaisnavas belong to that group of the Vaisnavas known as the Gaudiya Vaisnavas. The originator of this group was Chaitanya Dev himself. As is well known at first the God Vishnu was worshipped by the Vaisnavas as the very name of the sect indicates. Then the idea of "Avatar" or incarnation came to the foreground and so we get first Rama as a part incarnation and then Krishna as full incarnation of Vishnu among many of his incarnations, to save the world from the hands of the non-believing sinners. Last of all came Chaitanya Dev whom his followers believe to have been an incarnation of Sree Krishna (not of Vishnu). Apart from the worshippers of Vishnu and Rama those of Sree Krishna and Chaitanya Dev require our close investigation. Among the various qualities of God the two which have attracted the greatest attention of the devotees are the "Aiswaryya," "Guna" and "Madhuryya Rasa." The non-Bengali people of India seem to have been captivated with the former quality of God, while the Bengalis with the latter. Thus we find in the Up-country the Rama cult has more votaries than that of Krishna cult. "Aiswaryya" connotes power and fortune while "Madhuryya" means love. Krishna of course possesses these two qualities in him. The non-Bengalis seem to have more liking for the 'Aiswaryya' quality of Krishna and so they revel in his exploits in Mathura, Dwaraka and in the internecine struggle of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. The Bengalis on the other hand are zealous supporters of the "Madhuryya Rasa" and they have shown their leanings to it so much so that that they did not allow any temple of Lakshmi (Goddess of Fortune) at Brindaban when they found the town. As a result a temple of Lakshmi exists only 3 miles off from Brindaban on the other side of the Jamuna, the place being known as Belban where people

flock to worship her on certain days as they do not like to miss her favour in worldly affairs. Even when we consider this Madhuryya quality we find that there are two views in its connection. Some uphold "Swakiya" view and some "Parakiya" and "Madhura Rasa" being the greatest quality of God, according to some Vaisnavas, it cannot be cultivated adequately by a man with his own wife (Swakiya). This love-making should be done with "Parakiya" which involves great risk and sacrifice. Chaitanya Dev held the Parakiya view. The Maddhi sect to which he belonged was originally a South-Indian sect. His connection with this sect as well as his liking for Ramananda of the Deccan with whom he had a famous conversation about the "Madhura Rasa" seem to have some influence over Chaitanya Dev in establishing the "Parakiya" theory among his followers. Henceforth his followers of Bengal were known as the Gaudiya Vaisnavas.

The chief temple of the Bengali Vaisnavas at Brindaban as referred to before is that of Madanmohan. The Bengalis seem to have forgotten Madhabendra Puri who first found the image of Gopal at Brindaban locality and to whose sect (Maddhi) Chaitanya Dev himself belonged. They only remember Chaitanya and his followers. In every Bengali temple the deified image of Chaitanya is to be found while in most cases we shall miss the same in non-Bengali temples. Now as everybody knows among the three centres of the Bengali Vaisnavas—Navadwip, Puri and Brindaban—Navadwip is more associated with the name of Chaitanya Dev though Puri saw him as a living God during the latter part of his life, while Brindaban was only casually visited by him. So, however much importance Chaitanya Dev himself attributed to Brindaban, his followers were satisfied with his personality and did not think much of that place. The importance which the Gaudiya Vaisnavas attaches to the place is more in connection with Chaitanya Dev and his followers, especially the Goswamis, than with the Radha-Krishna legend.

To the idealists of "Parakiya" the introduction of Radha was essential. She was not the wife of Krishna in her earthly relationship and the love-adventures of the two, *viz.*, Radha and Krishna are illustrative of the "Parakiya" theory of the Bengali Vaisnavas. There is one subordinate element—a kind of subcurrent—furnished in the episode of love-making by Chandravali, the chief rival of Radha in connection with Krishna. Krishna would some time visit Radha some time Chandravali, though Radha had his chief attention. Legends

say many things about the two, even of their previous amours in heaven. It is peculiar in the Bengali poetical work Krishna-Kirtan, that this Chandravali has been identified with Radha while no other Bengali work and Bengali convention support this view. At Brindaban no trace of Chandravali has been found, but we find Radha in every temple. "Radharani" is the term which is on the lips of everybody at Brindaban.

To the Vaisnavas of other provinces the injunction of the six Goswamis have little value. Even a sect of the modern Vaisnavas of Bengal have disclaimed the infallibility of the Goswamis. They are the present "Gaudiya Math" people of Bengal. They are now trying to have a stable footing at Brindaban in spite of the somewhat unfriendly attitude of the Gaudiya Vaisnavas. The extreme wing of the Parakiya preachers are the Sahajiyas. I scented a considerable number of them at this place but have not been able to know much of them for obvious difficulties.

Regarded as a centre of Vaisnava culture and learning the place is not very progressive. However, the Bhakti-Vidyalyaya founded under the auspices of the Gaudiya Vaisnavas is doing some good to the Vaisnava public. But its shortness of funds and lack of public sympathy made us have misgivings regarding its future. The school is run mainly through the energetic efforts of Sreejut Kaminikumar Ghosh and his worthy son Dr. Gaurapada Ghosh (both residents of Brindaban) who deserve our unstinted praise. We visited this school and found to our satisfaction that the authorities have opened already two departments, one for Vyakaran (Grammar) and another for Darsan (Philosophy). Of course both are taught on Vaisnava lines. The Harinamamrita Vyakaran and Hari-Bhakti-Bilas are the two books of this school read by pupils. We attended one Kirtan party organised at the house of Sreejuts Nitai Das and Brindaban Das. Nitai Das is ably editing the Chaitanya Charitamrita of Krishna Das Kaviraj which he showed to us. We could not visit very many parties of Kirtan at the place and so are hardly competent to give any opinion about them.

In every speaker at Brindaban we found great enthusiasm in explaining the sectarian dogmas to strangers, often embellished by supernatural elements. In these stories wonderful dreams figured most though even trees talked. Be that as it may, my tour with the students to Brindaban was fruitful in many ways. Before coming to this place our ideas about its topography in its bearing on the legend of Krishna

were rather hazy. Besides, the references in our own literature made us compare them by a visit to the place for clearing certain problems from our first-hand knowledge. In more sense than one our visit to the place was a success and for this we are grateful to our present Vice-Chancellor. Yet we had our disappointments too. People who come to Brindaban to see holy places visit the whole of Brajamandal. In the open fields they have to live in tents and shift from place to place. But it requires time and money, of both of which we had very little. Under the circumstances we had perforce to remain satisfied by visiting the main temples of the town of Brindaban and leaving the Arcadian country of Braja associated with the hallowed name of Radha-Krishna for a future batch to visit.

We went to Mathura on a flying visit on Wednesday, the 21st October only for a day. What we saw there did not impress us much. We could visit only a few important temples and *ghats*. The *ghats* are Mathura's speciality. Unlike Brindaban the town of Mathura faces the river Jamuna and the whole length of it is studded with fine *ghats*. Here also the Jamuna is full of islets and the railway bridge is doing much harm to it. Among the temples visited by us were those of Dwarkanath, Kubjanath, Kamsamardan, Kalbhairab, Dhruba, Bali and Saptarsi and among the *ghats*, those of Bisram Ghat and Dhruba Ghat. At Bisram Ghat we witnessed that very interesting ceremony the "arati" of the Jamuna. For want of time some of us could not visit Bhuteswar Mahadev* and Radha Kund (22 miles from Mathura). Near the latter, Krishnadas Kaviraj wrote his immortal Chaitanya Charitamrita. The Dan-ghat is also situated as we have said before, in this locality. The chief temple with some air of grandeur is that of Dwarkanath. The other temples are but poor specimens of Hindu architecture. We regret we could not study carefully the specimens at the Mathura Municipal Museum. The Gaudiya theology has failed to strike any deep root at Mathura. The Gaudiya Vaishnavas have very little hold on the people of the town, and as a matter of fact, the Bengali population at Mathura is very small. Chaitanya Dev and his followers seem to have made no impression at this place. Even the cult of Krishna has very

* Perhaps very few people are now aware that Brindaban was an important holy place of the Sakti cult. According to tradition—of the 51 parts of the body of dead Sati (Durga) consort of Shiv one part fell here. It was her hair.

The Sakti goddess here is Uma and Bhairab (Siva) is known as Bhutesh. This shows that the Sakta cult prevailed here before the introduction of Vaisnavism.

little "Madhura Rasa" in it, as Krishna in "Aiswaryya" is being shown all over the town. Thus in place of Radha, Kubja and Rukmini figure prominently, and in two places, *viz.*, Kubjanath and Dhruba-tilā Vishnu with four arms with Sankha, Chakra, Gadā and Padma figures and not Krishna with his flute. From what I have seen in Brindaban-Mathura locality may I surmise that after the demise of Chaitanya Dev at Puri, the Goswamis found it hard to hold ground in favour of their own theology and so being disappointed sent back their valuable literary productions to Bengal—their own land—for preservation? They were not far wrong in their apprehensions as we can guess from the present condition of Brindaban.

We would have been glad to secure some old Vaishnava manuscripts but unfortunately could secure none. We heard valuable Vaishnava manuscripts may be found in the temple of Radha-Damodar (place of Jiv Goswami) which is now in the hands of a Receiver. So they are difficult to procure but we hope our University will try some day to possess them for the benefit of Vaishnava scholars of Bengal.

In this connection I would like to point out that doubts may lurk in the minds of some regarding the utility of sending students of this Department outside Bengal and not confine their educational activities within the bounds of this province. The condition of Bengali language and literature does not warrant such doubts. Such excursions outside Bengal besides broadening the outlook help in the proper understanding of many references and allusions that our literature contains. Of course attention should more be confined to places and regions within Bengal for this purpose.

THIS UNEMPLOYMENT

J. S. AITMAN

Secretary, National Council of Y. M. C. A., India, Burma and Ceylon.

A PRESENT-DAY need of utmost importance is that of assistance to the ever-increasing number of unemployed youth.

Generally speaking, people who are untouched in their immediate circle by unemployment, think of this problem, if they think of it at all, as one of statistics and words. Little understanding exists of the significant needs of the jobless individual, and even less of the handicaps which a prolonged period of worklessness involves.

In spite of a generous publicity by the press to the problem, there is a majority of people who waive the subject aside, with the words "Oh, nothing will or can be done until Government takes up the problem." While disagreeing with this attitude, I do not suggest, that Government cannot help to alleviate matters, but I do most emphatically put this question to such people, "What are you yourselves doing in your own province and community regarding unemployment among your youth, particularly among your educated unemployed?" In certain places in India, the answer can sometimes be "Oh we have schemes." Now, however excellent schemes may be, they provide only the smallest fraction of the needed assistance. For example, there is in this province a scheme being carried out by the Department of Industries, whereby free training is given in eight different industries. The training period covers from four to eight months, according to the nature of the industry taught. But preference is given under certain educational conditions, to middle class Bengalis who are in a position to invest the necessary capital required for starting the industry after the training period is over. Of its kind this is an excellent scheme, but it is obviously limited in its possibilities.

Before offering suggestions as to how we might tackle this problem, let us consider unemployment in more detail, and also its general effects.

People are said to be unemployed when they are not applying their labour to some sort of economic production.

There are four major types of unemployment: First, that of the man utterly without a job, well educated, able to work, and genuinely looking for a job.

Secondly, that of the individual who has theoretically a job, that is, his name remains written on some firm's list of employees, but the man is on leave without pay due to slackness of trade, either on part-time leave or full leave lasting over a fairly long period.

Thirdly, he may *have* a job, but be temporarily unemployed without pay, because of illness or some other disability.

Or, fourthly, he may be without a job, whether he is skilled or unskilled for work, simply because he does not look for work.

Strictly speaking, the first and second types constitute the unemployment problem.

The third type represents the problems of sickness, irregularity, and so forth; the fourth type represents the problem of what has come to be called the unemployable.

Now, what are the effects of unemployment on the individual and on the community? As one statesman has said, "that no waste is greater than unemployment, no suffering is keener or more fraught with despair than that due to inability by those who wish to work, to get jobs."—For me, the awful tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that the great bulk of the burden is carried somehow by those affected. Savings are used up, insurance premiums go unpaid or policies are used as security for loans and so on. Independent family income is reduced or annihilated and, worst of all, economically, the standard of living drops. In communities, fear of starvation breeds resentment and resentment breeds unrest. Morally, personal disintegration sets in, crime increases, and many of the unemployed become unemployable.

Then there is the frightful effect it has on the individual for, on the mind of the jobless man, comes a sense of uselessness, futility and defeat. Then, too, the unemployed man is always undernourished. Any doctor will tell you the disastrous result of this condition. Continuous undernourishment means nervous instability, failure in the power to concentrate, to make decisions, to direct oneself. Not only that, it encourages a state of slackness. As time goes on, the undernourished unemployed who is genuinely trying to find work, becomes bitter and angry against unyielding circumstances which do not give him the chance he needs and wants so badly. Continuous

failure means loss of self-confidence and self-respect, and after a long period of worklessness, apathy is the final result.

It is, however, inactivity, more than lack of food, which makes for much of the misery suffered by the unemployed. By inactivity I do not mean mere idleness, but the lack of opportunity to carry out the creative instincts.

Another factor for making a man melancholic and utterly depressed is the absence of congenial society. When a man has not the proper clothes, he hides himself from his fellows, and when he has not the food to offer his friends, he avoids contact with them in his own home. This enforced isolation is the breaking point of the unemployed man's misery.

Why does unemployment exist? It exists not because of individual laziness, but because of social conditions over which the typical worker has practically no control. To give examples.

In a measure, unemployment is due to poor marketing facilities for labour or to seasonal influences. Again, it may be due to cyclical fluctuations in business, with alternating periods of prosperity and depression, for, when depression comes, unemployment follows in its train.

Some is due to the entrance of new competitors into the job market. As long as the birth-rate exceeds the death-rate, old workers will continue to be challenged by the younger ones. City workers may be challenged by farmers moving to the city in quest of higher standards of living.

In addition to the foregoing reasons, we have those resulting from our present system of Education in India. There is no doubt that, to a great extent, the evils of unemployment are accentuated by the present system of education. For years there has been a persistent pursuit of purely literary studies, to the exclusion of practical or technical studies.

If every provincial Government accepted the proposals made last year by the Central Advisory Board of Education, a vast stride forward would have been made. It was recommended to Provincial Governments that after a certain standard of general education is reached, according to local needs, education should be diverted into practical and vocational channels. Now, while being fully cognisant of the debt that is owed to Universities for past education, we must face the fact that changing times bring new demands. I therefore

bring to your notice the following suggestions which might alleviate some of the unemployment among educated men and women.

Because of the early employable age in India, primary education should be made compulsory in every province. There should be more primary schools for absorbing younger children ; incidentally, this would give work to many unemployed women teachers. Such schools, whether urban or rural, must be of a particular type, that is to say, while arranging for a sound general education, they should also afford facilities for training in occupational activity, suited to local needs, preferably on conclusion of the general education course. This occupational activity would absorb unemployed men. Instead of opening more and more institutions for secondary and higher education, institutions should be built providing for specialized vocational training in agricultural, technical, industrial and commercial subjects, as well as arts and crafts, with a view to their immediate utility and taking account of the economic situation of the areas concerned, or alternatively, existing vocational institutions should be further developed. Incidentally, this would prevent the excessive output of University graduates who, at the present time, form an important part of the unemployed population and are frequently driven to take the posts which should be filled by non-University men.

In presenting these suggestions which affect the educated unemployed, I wish to lay emphasis on the fact that reconstruction of the education system does not mean an *immediate* solution of unemployment, because there must also be jobs for those qualifying in technical institutions. It does mean, however, that the total of unemployed will cease to be top-heavy with literary graduates.

And an improvement in the method of education should make for steadily increasing efficiency in industry and contribute to its expansion. It should also bring forth new ideas for the development of new commercial enterprises.

It is interesting to note that the Central Government has offered to defray the expenses of technical advisors to Provincial Governments desirous of reconstructing their education system. Something has already been done in Delhi, United Provinces and the Punjab as a result of this offer.

There is one point more I wish to stress. It is this-many educated young men are unemployed simply because of a disinclination for any work other than literary and because of utter unwillingness

to adjust themselves to non-literary occupations which might offer them a living wage.

We must admit that we shall never be able to tackle the problem of the millions of unemployed spread all over the country, but there are several ways in which we can take a share. One is by purchasing articles of Indian make, particularly those which are hand-made. It should be a matter of shame for well-to-do Indians to be seen purchasing furniture and other household goods of foreign pattern or manufacture, when similar Indian goods of infinitely more beautiful shape and pattern are available. It is no argument to say that the Indian article is more costly generally, it is not. Regular purchase of Indian articles will not only provide work for many who are now without it, but an impetus will be given to the revival of arts and crafts and a strengthening to the artistic traditions of India which are becoming gravely enfeebled as a result of the vast quantities of imported goods which our present apparent preferences bring to the market.

Then, for casual labourers, many of whom may be without any special skill—An experimental programme may be tried out on the following lines: As soon as the bureau is in working order, householders in Upper Middle-class suburbs could be asked by letter to inform the bureau of part-time jobs they require to be done, such as window-cleaning, odd jobs about the house, which other duties do not permit permanent servants to carry out, trimming up of hedges and trees in establishments where no mali is kept, pamphlet distributors and so on. Needless to say, no unemployed individual would be sent to householders until the bureau was in possession of registered facts of the man's case. As a safeguard to householders the man sent out would be required to register before and after completion of the delegated job and on receipt of a signed chit from the bureau he would be paid by the householders. I am convinced that there are many part-time jobs available.

By community planning and co-operation, we could establish unemployment bureaus, partially under Government supervision. Every organization and employing body in the community ought to be conferred with and a representative group set up to give careful oversight to the work done by the bureau. By obtaining a thoroughly accurate and comprehensive statistical survey, it can be discovered which are the most pressing needs of the unemployed community

within a given area. When such are known, well-considered plans can be built up to meet the particular requirements. I may add, that I feel it absolutely essential that statistics be kept under classified headings. The bureau should exist not only to keep a register of the unemployed and relevant details concerning them, but also be in a position to introduce the right man to the right job as soon as it is available. This would involve close contact between the bureau staff and possible employers. The bureau committee should exert its utmost influence to obtain apprenticeships particularly for the educated unemployed in industrial and commercial concerns or, they should arrange for evening classes. The bureau committee might divide themselves into groups—*e.g.*, one group might work out a programme for dealing with apprenticeships for juniors. Another might arrange for short-time courses for workers whose skill has become a bit rusty, a third might take care of the casual labourers, a fourth could endeavour to meet the needs of the unemployed graduates. A fifth might try to alleviate the lot of the unemployable and so on. Therefore, in addition to supervising the actual work of the bureau, the committee would be in the unique position of taking a full share of social service in the community. It is social service of the highest order, probably demanding much time and causing personal inconvenience.

Are we sufficiently public-spirited to band together to meet a need which is the responsibility of every man who has a secure job with a decent salary—or, are we going to sit still and let misery harass deeper and deeper the lives of those about us? My friends, not one of us has a right to criticise the behaviour of his fellow men. Therefore, I appeal publicly for men in leading educational, industrial and commercial concerns to come forward along with those in social service organizations and take up this problem in real earnest.

And now another suggestion ; by multiplication of Rural Reconstruction Training Centres run on lines of existing Y. M. C. A. Centres, unemployed men would not only be given the necessary training in rural work, but would be equipped to settle down in villages, where they can find scope for their training in agricultural schemes, under Government or private landlords. The training may include courses in all kinds of farm work, such as milking, ploughing, care of fowls, cattle and livestock, bee-keeping and poultry-farming, as well as training in the cottage industries of carpentry, weaving, dyeing, shoe-

making and so on, with particular attention being given to methods of repairing implements and utensils used in daily work and at home.

With the co-operation of caterers, training might also be given in the management of hotels and restaurants, clubs or private houses. It seems to me there is real scope for placing fully trained men in such jobs—witness the daily advertisements in the newspapers for trained cooks, bearers, butlers, etc.

Also we might develop a commercial, secretarial and banking course on modern lines where young men could be trained and afterwards placed by the agency of the bureau. This is a service which in large towns would be greatly appreciated by the public.

Lastly, there is the contribution that can be made particularly by existing social service organizations and clubs. It is good to get ahead and try to provide men with work—but, to my mind, it is a matter of no less urgency to provide such comradeship as we can to relieve the mental depression of the individual while awaiting a job.

Setting aside particular hours in clubs, when the unemployed can look at magazines and read books is not enough, neither is it of lasting value to have particular “open nights” when non-members can share the activities of established institutions. We must see that the hand of friendship is offered in club rooms without any obvious difference being made. You may say, “Surely you do not mean us to disorganize our existing programmes of activities?” I answer, “Not at all. but why not introduce new ones in which the unemployed can take an equal share with members?” For example, why not introduce dramatics? Calcutta is far from overwhelmed with good dramatic entertainment. By production of dramas, short plays and comic sketches, a double service would be rendered; in the first case the general public would find a welcome change from the Cinema and the unemployed would find his spare time occupied. Many will not be, of course, sufficiently talented to act well; there are always props needed to be made for the show. Some might be found with sufficient talent to write the actual play. Again, what about organizing choirs and orchestras? I venture to suggest that the amount of talent which lies with the unemployed will astonish you. If a representative group of club leaders and others interested to help in this

connection sat down together and talked matters over, many more possibilities than I can now mention, would suggest themselves. Before making my concluding remarks, I would like to have you here what other provinces are doing in the matter of unemployment.

A few weeks ago, I prepared a questionnaire which I sent to different provincial Governments. The replies received up to date brought me the following information:—

The Government of Bengal intimate that Calcutta University has recently started an organisation for finding out employment for University graduates in the business houses of Calcutta. The Department of Industries is continuing a scheme launched three or four years ago for educating unemployed young men in the technical subjects of jute-weaving, wool-weaving, umbrella-making, etc.

The Government of Bihar has, attached to the Department of Industries, an information bureau which registers vacancies reported to it. There is maintained a list of about 1,500 unemployed youths and their qualifications. The Government sends candidates for training to electric supply companies, sugar mills, mica and other concerns as paid and unpaid apprentices. They are also sent outside the province for training in weaving, tanning, sugar technology as Government stipendiaries. The Government is trying to go more fully into this question. There is also an Unemployment Association at Bankipore which caters for the unemployed.

The Government of United Provinces have appointed an Employment Board with its head office in Allahabad, to go into the question of unemployment.

The Government of Central Provinces and Berar is aiming to collect shortly statistics of unemployed youths of the province. An employment bureau has been recently opened by the Nagpur University and a similar one is being maintained by the Nagpur Engineering School. The Department of Industries provides no training facilities for the youths during their unemployment. There are however ten Government and Government-aided Industrial Schools in the Province which impart instruction in Carpentry, Blacksmithy, Boot-making, etc. Two village Industries Institutes are proposed to be opened at Amraoti and Jubbulpore this year where Cotton-weaving and testing, Carpet and Durree-weaving, Toy-making and and Lecquer work and Cane and Basket manufacture will be

taught. The whole question of solving unemployment in this province is under the consideration of the Employment Advisory Committee.

The Government of Madras has recently taken steps to gather statistics of the unemployed educated youths in different districts in that province, with a view to having a complete record of the same and devising measures for ameliorating the conditions of the unemployed.

The Government of Bombay initiated an Apprentice Scheme last July. The scheme comprises the acceptance of a number of educated young men for being apprenticed to industrial establishments for practical training for a period of five years. Simultaneously the boys will be given for the whole period theoretical training on two evenings a week in appropriate technical subjects. The aim will be to train boys to become educated skilled workers. Only such numbers will be admitted to the scheme which are likely to be ultimately absorbed in industries, after the completion of the period of apprenticeship. A number of industrial establishments in Bombay and Ahmedabad have agreed to accept apprentices under the scheme and evening classes in technical subjects will be held in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, and the R. C. Technical Institute, Ahmedabad.

Let me conclude by thanking you for your attention which I hope, will be sustained through you, your friends and associates to this problem of unemployment. I confess I have been able to touch only the fringe of the matter, but I earnestly plead with you to make the alleviation of this problem part of your responsibility, not so much because you are citizens of Bengal, but more because of sincere humanitarian interest.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF INDIAN STATES

PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A., M.L.

Allahabad University.

The Indian States are bound by treaties, engagements and Sanads which make them more or less subject to British control. The general control of the British Government as the paramount power over Indian States is exercised in the following ways:—

(a) The Paramount Power has exclusive control over the foreign relations of the State.

(b) It assumes a general but limited responsibility for the internal peace of the State.

(c) It assumes a special responsibility for the safety and welfare of the British subjects resident in the State.

(d) It requires subordinate co-operation in the task of resisting foreign aggression and maintaining internal order.

Thus looked at internationally from the outside by foreign Powers, these Indian States are British. The Crown "has in addition to taking over the powers of external Sovereignty, undertaken to preserve the internal and external security of States."¹

Yet in many other respects and within the domain of private international law, they are separate political entities possessing independent Civil, Criminal and Fiscal jurisdiction. The Secretary of State for India was obliged to restate the relations of the Indian States and the Paramount Power in the course of his letter to the Secretary-General of the League on September 28, 1927. Ratification of the draft conventions of the International Labour Conference at Geneva by the Rulers of the States was stated to be "the concern of the Rulers of States" and not controlled by the Paramount Power. These States which number several hundreds vary greatly in size and population and the exact relations between the various states and the Paramount Power are determined by a series of engagements and by long-established political practice.

It cannot be gainsaid *pace* Sir W. Lee Warner's view that the Constitutional relations between the Indian States and the Government of India have been gradually changed. As Professor Westlake put in its juridical setting "their relations have been imperceptibly shifted from an international to an imperial basis; the process has been veiled by the prudence of statesmen, the conservatism of lawyers, at the prevalence of certain theories about Sovereignty."

So far as Indian States are concerned their territory is not British territory and admittedly, the inhabitants of the Indian States are not British subjects. Many of these states have their legislation, their administration and their Civil and Criminal jurisdiction. As was reiterated by the Secretary of State in his letter to the Secretary-General of the League, the Indian legislature cannot legislate for the Indian State.

What is the exact nature of the relations between the States and the Paramount Power? Undoubtedly, the rules regarding these relations are

¹ B.Y.I.L., 1930, p. 56.

found in treaties concluded by the Crown with the Rulers. Nor can it be argued that all treaties of the British Crown with the third States are applicable *ipso jure* to the territory of the Indian States. In a letter of the Marquis of Salisbury to the Marquis of Dufferin (April 25, 1896) it is also stated thus:—"the protected states of India are not annexed to nor incorporated in the possessions of the Crown.....It has however never been contended that if those states had had pre-existing treaties with foreign powers the assumption of protectorate by Great Britain would have abrogated those treaties. It could not have had and in no case has had, such consequences."¹

It has also to be stated that the relationship between the Indian states and the Crown has grown up under widely differing historical conditions. In some of the earlier treaties as in those of the East India Company and States like Hyderabad, Gwalior, Baroda and Travancore, they were "treaties of mutual amity, friendly co-operation and reciprocal obligation." After 1818 the treaties were of "Subordinate co-operation, alliance and loyalty." Owing to the prudence of statesmen like Lord Curzon and the conservatism of lawyers the relationship shifted from an international to an imperial basis. "This imperceptible shifting" is indicated by the notification in the Indian Gazette (August 21, 1891) in the Manipur Case. "The principles of International law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen Empress on the one hand and the Native States under the Suzerainty of Her Majesty. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter."

The imperialistic genius of Lord Curzon enabled him to state that the Indian States "in process of time have conformed to a single type." Lord Reading, the Ex-Lord Chief Justice of England took occasion in his letter to H. E. H. the Nizam, dated March 27, 1926, to further broaden the scope of the Sovereignty of the British Crown, "Its supremacy," he elaborated, "is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them, and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India."

As early as 1911, Sir F. Pollock while stating the differences of attitude between Prof. Westlake and Sir W. Lee Warner—the protagonist of the Government of India's view—stated the point thus:—

"The relations of the Government of India and the Native States are governed by a body of convention and usage not quite like anything else in the world, but such that in cases of doubtful interpretation, the analogy of international Law may often be found useful and persuasive."²

Sir Leslie Scott appearing for the Indian States, presented their case before the Indian States' Committee thus:—"The Indian States retain their rights as independent states, except so far as they have ceded their rights to the Crown by agreement, express or implied." The Butler Committee followed a different theory. The Crown's paramountcy had grown up, according to the Committee, independently of these treaties, engagements and Sanads. It also felt impossible to define paramountcy.

¹ British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. 89, p. 1053.

² The Law Quarterly, 1911, pp. 88 and 89.

Paramountcy must remain paramount. It must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the states. In any event in realms of external affairs, Defence and Protection, and intervention, the Paramount Power has functioned.

At any rate, it has been recognized that the states retain sufficient sovereignty so that through only treaties with his Majesty they can be brought into the Federation. Section 6 of the Government of India Act (25 and 26 Geo. V, Ch. 420, 1935) contains relevant details of accession of Indian States. The ruler has to declare for himself, his heirs and successors "that he accedes to the Federation in accordance with the terms" of the Instrument of Accession he executes. His Majesty the King has to signify his acceptance of such an Instrument.

The extent and limitations of the law-making powers of the Federal Legislature, and the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in the acceding state have to be specified in the Instrument.

Thus, the Indian States cannot be called sovereign in its full sense. Sovereignty is divided between the Indian States and the Paramount Power. Though protected dependent states, the Indian States still retain some of the important rights which belong to separate political societies.



At Home and Abroad

Indo-British Trade Talks

The laconic official communique confirms break in the Indo-British trade negotiations and to mention the details leading to the deadlock. It is also noteworthy that the issue of the communique is considerably belated as the date of the departure of the Indian delegate, Sir Mohammed Zafarulla Khan, has already been known beforehand.

It is, however, stated in informed quarters that last minute efforts were made to avert a deadlock ; so nothing was made public in the meantime. It is further stated that when the Government of India was informed of the differences between the Indian non-official advisers and the British side, the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council worked like a team in urging postponement of the proceedings till the Indian view-point was reconciled, and accordingly Sir Mohammed Zafarulla Khan was instructed to return.

It is now definite that the negotiations will not be resumed in London and the Government of India will take the earliest opportunity to consult the non-official India advisers in Delhi before taking further action. Meanwhile, the long-denounced Ottawa Pact receives another lease of life.

New Federal Legislature

Commenting on a letter in its columns from Rev. C. F. Andrews which expresses the opinion that the New Federal Legislature in the present form could only be imposed by force, the "Manchester Guardian" says that the Congress leaders have repeatedly expressed their dislike for the present Federal plan.

Mr. Jinnah addressing the Muslim League described it as "more reactionary than the present central constitution."

The paper adds the Princes have had their grievances listened to unofficially answered and catalogued for reference. There is no reason to suppose that the Viceroy intends to neglect British India's, but a beginning should soon be made to give them the same treatment.

Integrity of Belgium

A German declaration formally recognising the inviolability of the Belgian territory and its independence was presented on October 13, when documents were exchanged at the German Foreign Office between Baron Von Neurath and the Belgian Ambassador.

A statement from the German side declares that the inviolability and integrity of Belgium are of common interest to Western Powers. It declares the intention of the German Government not to attack the inviolability and integrity of Belgium in any circumstances and to respect the Belgian territory at all times except in cases in which Belgium might be collaborating in military action against Germany. The German Government is prepared, as are the British and French Governments, to give Belgium support in the event of its being an object of attack or invasion.

The statement announces the German Government's determination to prevent by all means in its power the Belgian territory from ever being used as a basis for operations by any belligerent States.

The Belgian document briefly expresses the Royal Government's best thanks for the German declaration.

Elections in Soviet

The campaign for the elections to the Russian Supreme Council, created under the new Constitution, opened on the 12th October. Polling will be on December 12 next. There will be two Chambers, the Union Council, with 560 members, and the Council of Nationalities, with 574 members, each elected by a separate territorial division by direct, secret and universal suffrage.

The Central Electoral Commission of 15 members has just been nominated. The President is P. Moskatoff, of the Trade Union Central Council, the Vice-President Profoto Schmidt, an Arctic explorer, and the Secretary Georgi Malenkof, of the Trade Union for Institutions for Political Educations.

The most prominent member of this Commission is Nikita Kruscheff, chief of the Moscow Communist Party organisation. Other members include Alexander Kosarieff, General Secretary of the Young Communist League, Pavel Garshenin, of the League for Aviation and Chemical Defence, Lev McKills, editor of "Pravda," and representatives of district trading organisations, factories and collective farms.

Dr. Schacht's Resignation

Dr. Schacht is stated to have said in a conversation that his resignation as acting Minister of Economics took effect but he remains President of the Reichsbank for the time being.

Official quarters, however, state that no decision has yet been made. The report that Dr. Schacht has resigned is incorrect.

Spanish Premier in Barcelona

Senor Negrin, Spanish Premier, left for Barcelona by air, apparently signalling the change-over of the Government.

Germany's Colonial Claims

The articles in the Paris Press, asserting that Herr Hitler will shortly declare he does not recognise the validity of Mandates, are not taken seriously in Berlin.

Political circles describe the articles as a "ballon d'Essai" and say that nothing is known of any such step, though they add that something must be done some time as regards Germany's demands for colonies.

South American Republic's Proposals

The State Department has declined the invitation of the Cuban Government to participate in a joint endeavour of all American republics to establish peace in Spain.

The American reply nevertheless expresses the earnest hope that a peaceful method of terminating the strife may be found.

Australia to England in 5 Days

A new record for an Australia-England solo flight has been achieved by Miss Jean Batten.

Her total time from Port Darwin was 5 days, 18 hours and 16 minutes, as compared with Mr. Broadbent's 6 days, 8 hours and 25 minutes.

News and Views.

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

New University

Preliminary steps for the establishment of the University Library in connexion with the proposed Travancore University, which is expected to be functioning by June or July next, have been taken.

The Government of Travancore have sanctioned the Special University Officer's proposal to utilize the Trivandrum public library building for the accommodation of the University Library, with suitable extension of the present building, and for ultimate control of the public library being eventually delegated to the new University.

Madras Schools

The need for better-paid staffs in city schools was voiced at a meeting of the Madras District Teacher's Association.

The discontent among teachers, it was stated, accounted for much inefficient work and a resolution was carried requesting Government to sanction teaching grants for all city-aided schools.

Oxygen-generating Apparatus

Mr. R. N. Guha, Professor of Chemistry, Ananda Mohan College, has invented a handy and simple oxygen-generating apparatus which he claims will produce oxygen in a steady flow within a minute or two sufficient for one man's use for a day at a cost of less than two annas.

The Professor demonstrated the practical working of his new invention before the members of the local Medical Association and Colonel S. K. Nag, the Civil Surgeon. They are said to be highly satisfied and are of the opinion that oxygen application with Mr. Guha's apparatus would now be possible for the poor and in the interior. One of these is in use at the local Sadar Hospital.

A University in Travancore.

On the eve of his 26th birthday which fell on November 2, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has issued a proclamation establishing and incorporating a University in Travancore, with a view to effecting reorganization of the educational system of the State and the gradual development of technical and technological education.

The Maharaja is the Chancellor of the University.

Education Fellowship.

The new Education Fellowship delegation met the Minister for Public Information, Madras, this afternoon and, it is understood, discussed with him the Wardha Conference decisions.

"I think that a case has been made out for immediate abolition everywhere of examinations at any lower age than 16" said Rector Zilliacus,

leader of the delegation, addressing in the evening at the Madras Christian College School on "Examination."

He added that many educational systems had abolished examinations in lower stages and had got on quite well without them ; so that a case for abolition had been definitely made out. He also expressed the opinion that school-leaving examinations should be freed from university entrance examination considerations.

New Village Radio Scheme.

A scheme of village broadcasting which may prove as a guide not only to the various provinces of India but to several countries outside India, such as Palestine, Egypt and other territories in Africa, is now under examination of the Government.

It aims at covering the entire Delhi Province with a network of receiving sets.

It is understood that the scheme proposes to put up 120 receiving sets in villages. The province will be divided into five circles. Each circle will have a generator and a mechanic, and every village having a receiving set will be within six miles of circle headquarters. Thus, a circle will charge batteries and send down a mechanic to attend to any defect in a receiver.

There will be a supervisor taking notes of what the villagers like and what they do not like about the programme broadcast.

Research Laboratory.

A statistical record will be kept of the results achieved. Notes will be kept of the extent to which advice on crops, for instance, has been useful.

If sanctioned, the scheme's total cost for three years is estimated not to exceed Rs. 1,00,000, and as it takes three months to get sets out the scheme may not come into operation until the close of the current winter season.

Delhi will thus serve as a research laboratory for the rest of India, as successful experiments can be adopted in other parts of India.

It is possible that at a later stage a supervisor may be deputed to tour various parts of India and advise the local authorities of the results of the experiments in Delhi Province and help them to reap the benefit of such research.

Specialist in Rural Reconstruction.

Miss Padmavathi Chinnappa of Coorg has returned to India after taking her Diploma in Rural Reconstruction and Social Welfare of London University. She was a Lady Tata Scholar.

Diploma in Journalism.

The Senate of the Madras University had resolved in 1935 that the Diploma in Journalism be instituted and that the advice of the Academic Council be obtained regarding the academic aspect of the question.

The Academic Council considered the matter recently and came to the conclusion that the Diploma in Journalism was not necessary in view

of the fact that proposals have been accepted for the institution of the diploma in politics and the public administration in the Presidency and as it was felt that such of theoretical instruction for journalism could be obtained through this course and that the practical training could be left to journalistic profession the Senate at its meeting to-day moved the resolution that its former resolution be rescinded which was carried.

It was resolved that the Employment Bureau be instituted in the University on the lines suggested by the Special Committee. One of the functions of the Bureau will be to get in touch with the employees of labour and other sources of employment and suggest such further training as may be necessary for Graduates and Under-graduates of the University.

All-India Educational Conference.

Mr. C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, will preside over the 13th session of the All-India Educational Conference to be held at Calcutta from December 27 to 30, at the University Senate House.

University of Lucknow.

The next Convocation of the Lucknow University will be held on Saturday, Dec. 11. The Hon. Mr. Justice Mukund Ram Rao Jayakar, M.A., LL.B., BAR.-AT-LAW, Judge, Federal Court, Delhi, will deliver the Convocation address. Only those candidates will receive their degrees or diplomas at the Convocation, who inform the Registrar in writing of their willingness. Such information should reach the Registrar *on or before Nov. 26*. Candidates who are unable to present themselves in person at the Convocation, will be given their diplomas on payment of Rs. 5 for a diploma or for more than one diploma at a time.

At the Convocation the candidates shall wear the academic costumes appropriate to their degree or diploma. The costumes can be obtained on hire on the day of the Convocation from the University tailors, who will be present at the Canning College.

A Dacca Scholar.

Samaranjan Sen, a student of the Dacca University and the only son of the prominent Congress worker, Mrs. Ashalata Sen, has been awarded the Continental prize for Asia amounting to 400 dollars as his paper on: "How can the people of the world achieve universal disarmament" was considered the best of all papers submitted from the continent of Asia for the world competition arranged by the New History Society of the United States of America.

Indian Historical Records Commission.

The following is the personnel of the Indian Historical Records Commission which will hold its 14th session at Lahore on Dec., 16 and 17.

1. Sir G. S. Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Ex-officio President.

2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., D.LITT., Hon. M.R.S., (London), formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

3. Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, D LITT., M.A F.R., HIST.S., Professor of Modern Indian History. University of Allahabad.

4. Rajasevasakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., HON. PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.R HIST.S.

5. Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

6. Dr. Gulshan Lal Chopra, M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.

7. Dr. B. S. Baliga, PH.D. (Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras (*ex-officio*).

8. Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta (*ex-officio*).

9. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., K.B. Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, New Delhi (*ex-officio* Secretary).

The Government of India have been pleased to reappoint Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A., B.E.S., Lecturer in Far Eastern History, University College, Rangoon, as a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for a period of three years with effect from Aug. 27.



Miscellany

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN POLAND

The total capital of joint stock industrial concerns in Poland is 340 million zlotys, and of this 1,25 millions, or more than 42 per cent., is of foreign origin. The percentage of foreign participation is, however, on the decline for in 1935 the proportion was over 47 per cent. Foreign capital is most prominent in the oil industry, where it represents over 87 per cent. of the whole ; in the production of electrical power (85 per cent.) and in the mining and iron industry (nearly 75 per cent.). In the chemical, timber, leather, textile and paper industries foreign capital participates to the extent of over 25 per cent. in each case. The main countries represented by this foreign capital are : France 27.1 per cent., U. S. A. 19.2, Germany 13.8, Belgium 12.5, Switzerland 7.2, England 5.5, Austria 3.5, Holland 3.5, and Czechoslovakia 1.6 per cent.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

DISABLED PERSONS' COOPERATIVES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

A very interesting branch of co-operative activity in the U. S. S. R. is the organisation of co-operative societies for disabled persons. Every disabled person (disabled men from the war of 1914-1917 or from the civil war, persons disabled in industry, and persons handicapped from birth, etc.) receives a small pension from the State, but at the same time he endeavours to engage in some trade which will enable him, as far as he is able, to work and increase his income. For this purpose many of them have formed co-operative societies,

There are the following types of local co-operative societies :

(1) workers' producing co-operative societies, which has generally one or more joint workshops. In these more than 150 different trades in 15 branches of industrial production are practised, the main branches being the leather industry and the making of knitted goods, small metal articles, toys, trimmings, ready-made clothing, etc.

(2) the co-operative societies which engage in the sale of articles produced by the societies of the first group and of other articles ;

(3) the labour-contracting co-operative societies, which give direct service to customers, as, for instance, the co-operative photographers' shops and the co-operative organisations for the staffs of restaurants, cloak room, etc.

A fourth group of lesser importance is constituted by restaurants which exist mainly in connection with clubs, theatres, cinemas, etc.

On 1 January 1937 there were in U. S. S. R. 2,134 disabled persons' co-operative societies, of which 1,529 were in the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), as compared with 2,079 and 1,536 respectively on 1 January 1936. The total membership of these societies

was 201,000 in the U. S. S. R. on 1 January 1937 (152,460 on 1 January 1936) and 160 400 in the R. S. F. R. (122,800 on 1 January 1936).

The disabled persons' co-operative societies are entitled to employ a certain number of assistants not exceeding 20 per cent. of the total membership. On 1 January 1937 the number of assistants was 32,855, and the proportion as compared with the total membership is tending to decline.

In 1936 it was only 16.7 per cent. of the total. The total number of workers employed in the disabled men's co-operative societies was thus 284,181 in the U. S. S. R. and 183,217 in the R. S. F. S. R. About 57 per cent. of the total work in the producing societies, the next group in importance being the labour-contracting co-operative societies.

The societies may be classified as follows as regards membership :

- 46 societies with 10 members ;
- 387 societies with from 11 to 30 members ;
- 648 societies with from 31 to 100 members ;
- 261 societies with from 101 to 200 members ;
- 147 societies with from 201 to 500 ;
- 40 societies with 501 members or over.

The value of the output of the producing societies was 1,148 million roubles in 1936 as against 770.6 million in 1935. The turnover of the trading societies for the same year was 815 million roubles against 590.9 million in 1935. The turnover of the labour-contracting co-operative societies, which developed considerably during 1936, was 101 million (60 million in 1935). The co-operative restaurants had a turnover of 165 million. The total funds of all the disabled persons' co-operative societies was 186,609,000 roubles on 1st January 1937.

When the first co-operative societies for disabled persons were founded fifteen years ago, the Commissariat for Social Assistance had to advance considerable sums for the organisation of co-operative production and to provide a certain amount of working capital, but the co-operative societies have long become independent of any State financial assistance. Their own funds are now much in excess of the sums originally invested by the State.

The marketing of the articles manufactured by the producing co-operative societies is largely carried out by means of contracts with State training institutions and distributive co-operative societies, and in part through the trading co-operative societies of disabled persons.

In view of the composition of these societies, special attention is devoted to the physical and moral wellbeing of the members. The societies have their own system of mutual insurance funds, to which each society contributes an amount equal to 15 per cent. of the total earnings of its members. These mutual insurance societies have their own dispensaries, homes, sanatoria, etc. The Union of Insurance Societies of the R.S.F.S.R., for example, has three sanatoria, one in Crimea and two in the Caucasus. In 1936 these sanatoria provided treatment for more than 17,000 persons, representing about 20 per cent. of the workers engaged in the disabled persons' co-operative societies. This percentage is particularly high, for only 5 per cent. of the workers of the country as a whole are normally granted free maintenance in sanatorium or home.

The co-operative societies themselves, as well as the district unions and the central organisations devote very special attention to the vocational training and general education of their members. The training of specialists and technicians and the improvement of occupational ability are very important matters for the disabled persons' co-operative societies. The

problem is particularly difficult because every year a large number of disabled workers join these societies without having received the necessary vocational training. Much of the training they require is given in the workshops themselves by the more skilled workers, who instruct the apprentices. The organisations also arrange for courses of supplementary education, both vocational and general. Some of the members who have the necessary preliminary training are sent at the expense of the co-operative societies to special technical schools or even to higher schools.

The various disabled persons' co-operative societies are grouped in district and republican unions. The Council of the Disabled Persons' Co-operative Societies (*Vsekoopinsoviet*), which is the Union of Co-operative Societies of the R.S.F.S.R., acts at the same time for the A.I.-Russian Union. The main duties of the Council are to supervise and promote the work of the disabled persons' co-operative societies and to draw up their annual and five-year plans in collaboration with the Commissariat for Social Assistance.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

BOOMS IN BRITAIN 1937 AND 1929

Last year at this banquet my predecessor was able to say that no setback was visible in the growing recovery we had been enjoying during the last few years. The year 1929 was, on the whole, a year of prosperity, but by 1931 the nation was plunged into the depths, and when we looked up to the heights from which we had so rapidly descended it needed a resolute heart to believe that we could reattain them. Our main hope and effort has been to recapture the level we had reached before the depression. This year, however, we have for the first time climbed up again higher than we were in 1929 on the other side of the valley. At last we draw breath and look back, we can see that we are higher up the rising slope than we were in 1929 before the drop occurred.

The volume of employment of the insured population is more than 10 per cent. in excess of 1929. Nor does this increase reflect merely that the numbers of the working population have increased and that more are at work. Production as a whole has increased appreciably more than the increase in volume of employment. This progress is not only due to new inventions or new demands for luxuries. Older, staple, heavy industries (e.g., iron and steel and engineering) are producing one-third more than in 1929. If we are no longer the workshop of the world, yet our old-established industries do not (as some feared a few years ago) show any signs of decay. Even the textile industry, which has encountered special difficulties on account of world changes, is producing over 5 per cent. more than in 1929.

It is particularly satisfactory to note that British shipping is much more fully employed than in 1929. In that year the volume of shipping laid up was nearly 400,000 tons. This figure increased during the depression to the stupendous figure of over 2,000,000 tons, but it has now fallen to the negligible amount of 60,000 tons.

And, again, the production of food, drink, and tobacco is up nearly 20 per cent. as compared with 1929, and boots and shoes by nearly 25 per cent.

The special significance of these figures is that they reflect improvement in the standard of living of the people as a whole.

Among the newer industries, the most striking progress has been made by electricity, the consumption of which has almost doubled since 1929. The outward and visible signs of this change are in the great new power stations and the virtual completion of the grid. There is no need to discuss the relative merits of electricity and gas, for it is clear that the gas industry has not declined since 1929. The output of motor cars has reached a new high record during recent months. Production of rayon is over three times as much as it was in 1929.

These are very cheerful figures and justify us in claiming that our internal position is sound, for while there has been some rise in prices this has been accompanied by a great increase in the production and in employment.—Sir John Simon as Chancellor of the Exchequer responding to the toast submitted by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion Hall, London October 9, 1937.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ROAD-RAIL PROBLEM IN FRANCE

The French Railway Board which met in July 1937 at the Ministry of Public Works had to deal with a question of public interest—the raising of railway tariffs. They came to the conclusion that the competition between the railway and the road has had a deep influence on public transport. The advance in aeronautics is likely to act in the same direction. The recent International Railway Congress brought into due relief the remarkable achievements accomplished in the joint fields of operation and management.

The coordination of the railway and the road stands out as the most arresting development. The economic efficiency of the traffic by road has been improved to such a degree that the competition to which the railways were subjected assumed a threatening character, and it was high time to devise some means of dealing with it. Both last year and in the early months of 1937 the "autorail" has taken on a great extension. The shorter runs were the first to reap the advantage of being provided with "automotrices" which were supplied, later on, for longer journeys. From 1932 to 1937 the advance was a considerable one: on January 1, 1932, there were 24 "automotrices" running on the French railway systems, the length of which was then 2,152 kilometres; by January 1, 1935, there were 34, covering 3,194 kilometres per day; one year later, the number of these vehicles was 90, and the distance covered was 17,107 kilometres; as from 1935 these figures show a considerable advance: 236 "automotrices," covering 42,499 kilometres per day; lastly, on January 1, 1936, there were 354 "automotrices" in service, and the distance covered per day was 75,599 kilometres. Such were the results brought about by the fear of competition.

The lines using "autorails" were rewarded by a rapidly expanding traffic; on some of these the increase in the number of tickets issued worked out at 15 to 27 per cent. On the Paris-Orleans-Midi system, the length of lines operated with the help of autorails has risen from 2,414 kilometres to 3,275; the daily runs exceed 15,000 kilometres, as compared with 10,396 previously. The Est Co., owns 68 autorails with the help of which it has organised rapid services between Paris and Nancy, with

connection to Metz, and between Paris, Charleville and Sedan ; as well as express services between Nancy, Belfort and Mulhouse. The trip from Paris to Nancy takes 3 hours and 12 minutes, at a speed of 110 kilometres an hour. In the course of last year the autorails of the Est Co. covered 4,000 000 kilometres, or twice the distance covered the year before. The use of the autorail has resulted in shortening by two hours the journeys from Le Mons to Vichy and from Bordeaux to Aurillac by about three hours. This is merely by way of quoting a few instances ; the many autorail services in operation in the whole of central France would also be worthy of mention.

While dealing with the subject of the speed of the trains, it is necessary to refer to the latest great innovation carried out on the Paris-Lyon-Mediterranean lines: the streamlined trains which decrease air resistance while they effect a saving of fuel by 25 per cent. attain a speed of 149 kilometres per hour without in any way impairing the remarkable comfort of the carriages (1 Km = $\frac{5}{8}$ mile).

The advance in electrification, particularly noteworthy on the Paris-Orleans-Midi lines, is being pushed forward on the East system ; the electrification of the Tours-Bordeaux line brings up to 55 per cent. the proportion of tonnage per kilometre hauled by electric traction on that system, and to 1,030 kilometres the length of its electrified lines. The fast trains on the Paris-Le Mans line are hauled by engines of 4,000 H. P. at a speed of as much as 150 kilometres per hour ; goods trains travel at a speed of 95 kilometres per hour. Many suburban lines have been electrified. The East system now possesses one electrified line (Paris-Le Mans) as much as 211 kilometres long. Concurrently the transformation of the Paris-Montparnasse-Versailles line has been completed to four tracks.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE PLANNING OF PUBLIC WORKS IN THE U. S. A.

One of the first measures adopted by the United States Congress after President Roosevelt took office in 1933 was the National Industrial Recovery Act which provided, among other things, for the creation of a Public Works Administration for the purpose of carrying out a big programme of public works. Other programmes were subsequently added but they were of a somewhat different character, being more in the nature of relief works than of public works designed to "prime the pump" of business recovery.

Timing construction of useful public works so as to provide employment in times of depression is an idea which has had a long history ; but the application of this idea has been, until recently, sporadic and on the whole unscientific. When the Public Works Administration was created in the United States in 1933, there were no reliable estimates as to the cost of employment through the various kinds of public works. Similarly, there was no agreement as to the proportion between off site or indirect labour to on-site or direct labour. Knowledge of this ratio is essential in judging the economic regenerative effect of a public works programme. Now, after nearly four years of operation throughout the United States, PWA can point to its accomplishments in terms of permanent utilitarian structures, employment, and invaluable additions to scientific knowledge of the problems involved.

Catalogues of projects and pertinent scientific data are being accumulated all the time. By 1 February 1937 PWA had received 24,055 applications

for allotments, had made 9 328 allotments and had approved for allotment 2,865 others. These two thousand odd projects stand now as a reserve to which allotments can be made at any time when the need arises ; but it must be remembered that the list will constantly be changing as cities find other means of financing their projects and as other projects are approved by the examining divisions of PWA.

Another catalogue of great value for future public works is the report of the National Resources Committee. This report presents a long list of projects which are considered advisable for the development of the water resources of the country; and all the drainage basins of the country are included. The value of this kind of report is by no means remote.

In 1929 the total volume of all construction in the United States amounted to some 12,000,000,000. In 1932, before the establishment of PWA, the pendulum had swung so far in the other direction that the total volume of construction was less than 4 000,000,000. Figures available for the year 1928 indicate that one third of all construction was financed by public bodies, the Federal Government or State governments or their local subdivisions.

With millions of workers unemployed, and most of those who were still on pay-rolls receiving wages which had been drastically cut, the demand for consumers' goods and services decreased materially, resulting in a corresponding slash in the number and in the wages of those engaged in supplying consumers' demands. Evidence of the decreased activity in these industries is the fact that retail sales for 1933 dropped 47·7 per cent. from their 1929 total.

PWA turned the tide in the construction industry. Statistical proof of this is offered in graphs showing the 5-year precipitous drop in construction from 1928. In 1934, when the benefits of the first building programme undertaken by PWA were being felt, there was an upward movement for the first time since 1923. Public construction during 1934 showed a 52 per cent. gain over the previous year; and the line has continued to rise since that time.

These gains of the construction industry were reflected in gains of allied industries, starting them back towards normality. How was this striking reversal of economic trends effected? The Congress, accepting the theory of public works, made large appropriations for building activities. To PWA went 1,478,013,103 for its non-Federal works programme and 136,101,550 for the development of Federal low-rent housing projects. In addition to this, 1,557,762,044 was made available for undertakings of the various departments of the Federal Government; while this money was allotted by PWA, it is not considered part of the PWA programme proper. For all construction purposes, Congressional appropriations totalled 3,351,029 882, of which less than half went to PWA.

Under the first programme undertaken by PWA a grant of 30 per cent. of the total cost of labour and materials was made the local governmental body accepting the grant was required to provide the remainder of the cost. This arrangement was liberalised in the second and in the current programme; and PWA now provides up to 45 per cent. of the total cost, with the grantee putting up 55 per cent. from its own funds.

In cases where the recipient of the grant was unable to raise its share of construction costs either from funds available or through the issue of securities to be purchased by private investors, PWA accepted the responsibility of making a loan at 4 per cent. if the applicant was able to provide reasonable security guaranteeing the return of the money.—H. Ickes in the *International Labour Review* (Geneva).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Richard Carvel. By Winston Churchill, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1937.

Mr. Winston Churchill, the distinguished American novelist, is not so widely known in this part of the country as he deserves to be and as his English name-ake is. But his *Carvel*, *Coniston* and *Caisis* form a distinct trilogy which is almost a historical document of national importance. *Richard Carvel* was first published in 1899 and so far as we know this is the first abridged edition, brought out with notes. The hero speaks in the first person and the regular episode of love is there but what is of more importance and greater interest is the historical background, just on the eve of struggle for American Independence, when Gray's *Elegy* was considered as modern poetry, and Charles Fox and Horace Walpole were live personages. This abridged edition, with sufficient adventure to keep up the interest, does justice to the original as the best of abridgements may be expected to do, and it is adapted to meet the requirements of class teaching, each chapter being of moderate length, and the notes and the suggestive Questions given at the end, chapter by chapter, will be appreciated and found useful.

P. R. SEN.

Electricity and Magnetism. By R. G. Mitton. Published by J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.

In this treatise an "Electricity and Magnetism" an attempt has been made to develop the fundamental principles in an attractive form and also to show their application in electric motors and transformers and in wireless. The book is written in a lucid and simple style and the author has carefully avoided introduction of details which might confuse the mind of young learners. In this respect the book will be suitable for beginners in the subject as well as those who are rather advanced. Moreover the examples and question at the end of each chapter will be of great help to young students. The book is also profusely illustrated. It will be a good reference book for students preparing for the Intermediate examination of the Indian Universities.

S. K. ACHARYYA.

Some Aspects of Muslim Administration. By Dr. R. P. Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc. Published by the Indian Press, Ltd.

In the pre-Mughal history of Muslim India, we read mostly of court intrigues and palace revolutions, wars and rumours of wars, the historian dwelling with disproportionate fondness in the antechamber of the King, in the Hall of Audience and in the mansions of the nobility. It is therefore with some relief that we take up this book which gives us a

history of institutions. It traces the vicissitudes of the Sultanat and the Vizarat from the Ghaznavides to Akbar. Unlike the Moghal period there is no profusion of 'farmans' and 'dasturulamals' and the historian has to pick up materials from widely scattered sources. The author has shown admirable patience in gathering his materials. Every serious student of Indian history will be grateful to him for the mass of information that he has brought together in the compass of this volume.

Part II of this book which traces the vicissitudes of the Vizarat has been treated from a fresh point of view. The discussions in this connection are designed to fix the historical place of rulers like Sher Shah and Akbar. The author seems to recognise the principle that with all great men. We do well to ascertain how far the praise and admiration may not be carried too far. In Appendix C, he has proved that it is unhistorical to say that Sher created a new pargana machinery unknown to the early Sultans. The author has also shown how the Khilji and Tughlak rulers evolved some very excellent methods of fighting famines. We are, however, constrained to admit that in spite of an elaborate discussion in Appendix D, the word 'Nasag' in the writings of Abul Fazl still remains ambiguous and he has not been able to prove that Moreland's definition is incorrect. The view expressed by the author that 'Akbar's' idea was not so much national as of Universal Kingship' is not borne out by the evidence he has adduced. We should take into consideration the usually inflated and hyperbolic language of diplomatic correspondence of the mediæval period and would find that a letter written to Abdullah Khan Uzbek or the expression of a desire of an alliance with the King of Portugal cannot justify the discovery of this crack in the political mind of Akbar, the dream of pan-Islamic ascendancy.

N. K. SINHA

IN MEMORIAM

HERMANN JACOBI.

The Old Guard of German orientalists is thinning away rapidly. After Grünwedel and Winternitz it is now the turn of Hermann Jacobi, whose name is but too well known in India, for there is hardly any branch of Indology which has not been immensely enriched by him. The University of Calcutta has a special reason to mourn his death, for he was one of its few foreign visiting professors.

The works for which Jacobi is justly renowned in India appeared mostly in the previous century, such as *Das Rāmāyana* (1893), *Compositum und Nebensatz* (1897), *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* (1886), *Translation of Jaina Sūtras* in SBE., Vol. XXII. During the last thirty years of his life Jacobi was engaged on a comprehensive work on the origin and development of Sanskrit and Prākṛit metres. This *magnum opus* is, however, still unpublished! For this work Jacobi has minutely studied the metrical qualities of every verse of even such extensive works as the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*! The life's labour of a great savant will be lost if this work is not taken up by one of his pupils, of whom here may be mentioned in passing Stecherbatski (Leningrad), Schubring (Hamburg), Brellder (Berlin), and others.

Jacobi was one of the few German scholars who had mastered the main branches of ancient Indian philosophical systems, both Hindu and Buddhist. It is a great pity therefore that he published no comprehensive work on Indian philosophy, though he contributed priceless articles on the subject to different journals all his life. He was mainly responsible for the articles on Jainism in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Jaina studies began in Germany with that superman Albrecht Weber, but they reached their high side in the work of Jacobi. With the insight of a philologist and the foresight of a philosopher he fixed for all time to come the course that Jaina studies were to take in Europe. Such leadership would have been of inestimable value for Buddhism, on which a much larger body of scholars is engaged.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

Ourselfes

[I. *The Late Lord Rutherford.*—II. *The Late Professor Jacobi.*—III. *Our University and Professor Radhakrishnan*—IV. *Dr. S. K. Mukherjee.*—V. *A New Ph.D.*—VI. *Palit Professor of Chemistry.*—VII. *Our University and the Inter-University Board.*—VIII. *A New D.Sc.*]

I. THE LATE LORD RUTHERFORD.

The sudden death of Lord Rutherford, O.M., F.R.S., N.L., one of the leading physicists of the world, has given a rude shock to scientists all over the world. Our sorrow is all the more profound as we have missed a great opportunity of welcoming him in this University as President of the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress to be held jointly with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which is due to commence on the 3rd January next. To those who are working for the success of the Congress, the shock is certainly severe and while they are denied the personal association of the great scientist, they have to find consolation in the thought that his spirit will be there to guide the deliberations of a congress of which he was the President-elect. As Sir William Bagg, President of the Royal Society has said, "his noble contributions to knowledge had been an inspiration to innumerable workers and foundations for a vast series of researches." Irreparable indeed is the loss to the cause of Science all over the world.

The following is a short account of Lord Rutherford's career and achievements:—

Ernest Rutherford, known as Baron Rutherford of Nelson was 66 at the time of his death and was the Cavendish Professor of Experimental Physics and Director of Cavendish Laboratory, University of Cambridge, since 1909. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1908. Born on 30th August 1871, at New Zealand, he had a uniformly brilliant career, having obtained the M. A. Degree with 1st class Honours in Mathematics and Physics in 1893. He was regarded as one of the foremost authorities on Radio-activities and, besides contributing numerous papers in Transactions of the Royal Society, philosophical magazines and other journals on various branches of physical science, mostly dealing with the conduction of electricity through gases of Radio-activity, he was responsible for the following famous publications:—(1) "Radio-activity," 1904; (2)

"Radio-active Transformations," 1906 ; (3) "Radio-active Substances and Radiations," 1912 ; and (4) "Radiations from Radio-active Substances" (with James Chadwic and C. D. Ellis), 1930.

He was knighted in 1914 and was made an F.R.S. in 1903. In course of his crowded career he acted in various capacities, such as Professor of Natural Philosophy, Royal Institute ; Chairman of Advisory Council of Department of Scientific and Industrial Research since 1930 ; President, Royal Society—1925-30 ; President, British Association for Science, 1923, McDonald Professor of Physics, McGill University, Montreal, 1893-1907 ; Langworthy Professor and Director of Physical Laboratories, University of Manchester, 1907-19 ; and Fellow of Trinity College since 1919.

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II. THE LATE PROFESSOR JACOBI.

The death of Professor Hermann Jacobi, one of the old band of German Orientalists, has removed a great figure from the world of Sanskrit scholarship, which is distinctly poorer to-day. His contributions in the domain of Sanskritic studies, specially his work in Jaina Prakrit and on alaṅkāra and metrics, have marked him out as an authority in those subjects. He was appointed a Special University Reader by this University in 1913 to deliver a course of lectures on the Theory of Indian Alaṅkāra. We mourn the death of a great savant, whose place will indeed be difficult to fill.

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III. OUR UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN.

We understand that Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., D.LITT., has been granted permission to spend every year from 1938 to 1941, the period from January to June (including Summer Vacation beginning from about the middle of April to end of June), outside India and hold the Spalding Chair of Eastern Religions and Ethics in the University of Oxford. During this period he will not be granted any salary or allowance by this University and for the period between July and December he will be required to deliver not less than 50 lectures for the benefit of Post-Graduate students. We further understand that during the continuance of this arrangement a special Research Fellowship of Rs. 200 per month and a Research Scholarship of Rs. 125 per month will be created in the Department of Philosophy. The Fellow and the Scholar will work mainly under Professor

Radhakrishnan's guidance and assist in the teaching and tutorial arrangements during the term time from January to April when the Professor will be away.

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IV. DR. S. K. MUKHERJEE.

We are glad to announce that Dr. S. K. Mukherjee., F.R.C.S. (Edin.), D.O (Oxon.), D.O.M.S. (Lond.), F.S.M.F. (Beng.), Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery, Carmichael Medical College, Honorary Ophthalmic Surgeon, Calcutta Medical College, and a Fellow of this University, has been deputed to represent the Government of India at the 15th International Ophthalmological Congress to be held this year at Cairo. After spending a few days at Zurich, Vienna and Utrecht and visiting the well-known hospitals of there places, he will, we understand, go to London and stay there for some weeks to see the latest improvements in Ophthalmology. He will leave Great Britain in the first week of December for Cairo *via* Alexandria and attend the Congress from the 8th to the 15th December.

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V. A NEW PH.D.

We congratulate Mr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University on a thesis entitled "Aliverdi and his Times" and a subsidiary thesis entitled "The Santhal Insurrection of 1855-56." Dr. Datta's theses were adjudicated upon by a Board of Examiners consisting of Professor A. Martineau, Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.LIT., and Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., M.A., F.R. HIST. S.

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VI. PALIT PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY.

Professor Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A., PH.D., Ghose Professor of Chemistry, has, we understand, been selected to be the Palit Professor of Chemistry in this University *vice* Sir Praphullachandra Ray, *retired*.

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VII. OUR UNIVERSITY AND THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD.

Pursuant to a request from the Secretary, Inter-University Board, India, the following suggestions have been made by this University for discussion at the meeting of the Board to be held at Allahabad in December next:—

(1) That a note summarising the main activities of the Board during the last twelve years be added to the Annual Report of the year, 1937-38.

(2) That there should be mutual recognition of the corresponding examinations of the different Universities in India for purposes of eligibility for admission of students from an Indian University to the course of study of any other University which may be open to its own students of the same standing. If the University desires to impose any conditions they should be similar to those applicable to its own students.

(3) That Provincial Governments be requested to sanction increased grants to Universities for researches in Applied Sciences and also to take steps to ensure increased collaboration between Universities and Governments in the matter of researches relating to agricultural and industrial problems.

(4) That Government be approached for taking necessary steps to ensure closer co-ordination between the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun and Universities in which Training Corps have been organised.

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VIII. A NEW D.Sc.

We congratulate Mr. Sureshchandra Sengupta, M.Sc., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science of this University on the thesis entitled “ (1) Studies in Dehydrogenation and (2) The Chemistry of Santenones.” The thesis was adjudicated upon by a Board of Examiners consisting of Mr. Harold King, F.R.S., Dr. Otto Rasenheim, F.R.S., F.L.S., and Professor Jocelyn Thorpe, C.B.E., F.R.S.

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THE LATE SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE, KT., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Born : 30th November, 1858

Died : 23rd November, 1937



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1937

A PORTUGUESE ACCOUNT OF HAIDAR ALI

PROFESSOR SURENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., PH.D.

Calcutta University.

I

THE Portuguese used to take a keen interest in their immediate neighbours. The Governors and Viceroys of Goa deemed it incumbent upon them to keep the home government well informed about Indian affairs and political event of the slightest importance seldom escaped their notice, particularly when they were likely to affect their policy and plans. A Portuguese writer essayed an elaborate biography of Shivaji as early as 1695 and it is no wonder that a brief biographical sketch of Haidar Ali should be despatched to Lisbon soon after that Muslim adventurer had consolidated his authority at Seringapatam and extended his conquest to the confines of Phonda. Haidar reduced the principality of Sunda in December, 1763, and that exploit was duly mentioned in

the biographical sketch which was enclosed in a letter dated the 26th January, 1764. Evidently the writer tried to be up-to-date and probably his is the earliest account of Haidar Ali's career now available to us.

In 1764 Haidar was a power to be counted, but it is doubtful whether much was known about his childhood and youth. Col. Wilks had often to depend on oral information when he compiled his monumental work and it is quite natural that the Portuguese writer should begin his account from Nanda Raj's alliance with Dupleix against Mahammad Ali and the English, for Haidar laid the foundation of his future greatness during that war. The narrative is exceedingly meagre, firstly because it was but an annexe to an official correspondence and secondly because sufficient materials for a detailed biography were not available at that date. Brief as it is, the account is not without interest to students of Indian History inspite of its occasional inaccuracies. It is here that we read for the first time that Nanda Raj's fall was precipitated by the infidelity of his white troops and Haidar's ultimate triumph over Khande Rao was partly due to the desertion of Muslim officers of the royal forces. Though Col. Wilks says nothing about the European soldiers in Nanda Raj's employ there is no reason to reject the Portuguese official version, for the commanding officer was a Portuguese himself and is mentioned by name. Nor is the story about the French escorts of that diplomatic prelate, the Bishop of Halicarnasus, unworthy of credence. That Haidar had no scruples about bribery and corruption is also well known and the Portuguese account of his rise and progress is substantially correct. The conquest of Sunda is treated in greater details than in Wilks's *History of Mysore* because the king was, as the writer confesses, a much valued friend of the State and a close neighbour whom the Portuguese felt called upon to shelter in self-interest. In any case it is likely to be of use as a true index of the Portuguese attitude towards Haidar Ali and their estimate of his character, ability, policy and methods. So far as I am aware this interesting "noticéa" has not yet been published either in original or in translation and I need not offer any apology for presenting it in its English version to the public. The translation is faithful but not literal. The original manuscript forms item No. 12 of May, 02, Officios dos Governadoes in the Archivo Ultramarino of Lisbon, which I transcribed in September, 1926.

II

Information about the origins of a Moorish (Muslim) rebel, called Aidar and his rise till the acquisition of the title of Nabobo Aidar Ali Can and his (subsequent) progress and conquests.

This Moorish Nabobo is called Aidar, while serving in the troops of Ananda Raja,¹ prince of Maissur, general of the King of Sering Patan, he enlisted on his side some Moors, called Naiques, and styled himself as Aidar Naique.² Thereafter he was promoted on account of his services to the captaincy of a company of lancers called Pioens.³ He continued his services with high appreciation specially during the war of Trichinopoli⁴ which the abovementioned prince declared against Mamodali Can, master of Arcate, on behalf of the French when M. Dupleix governed Pondicheri, whose protection he earned by his distinguished services to which he owed the honour of Anand Raja's confidence in his fidelity. The latter increased the troops⁵ of Aidar Naique and entrusted to him the administration of his army and his entire principality.

Anand Raja did not know that in the comfort he found in Aidar lay his final ruin, the loss of his principality and all his treasures, much less (did) the king of Sering Patan (imagine) that his intimacy with his vassal would reduce him to the same state as the prince commandant of his forces when they would have no alternative but to submit themselves in mortal fear to the will of their servant.

The elevation of Aidar Naique to the despotic government of the kingdom of Maissur enabled him to conspire against the person and estate of his master and benefactor, for with this evil design he set to ingratiate himself with the king of Sering Patan and all the nobles of his court so that they might be propitiated while he worked against Anand Raja. Subsequently in 1759, having none to fear, he availed himself of the favourable times and raised more troops with the money

¹ More correctly Naniraj or Nanda Raj, the Dalwai, who had usurped the authority of the Raja of Seringapatana and had his headquarters at Mai-ur.

² Haidar was called a Naik, like his father before him, because he commanded a small detachment. S n-krit *Nayak* means a leader.

³ Peons or footmen.

⁴ The reference is to the second Carnatic War in which Nanda Raj first participated as a partisan of Muhammad Ali but later joined the French.

⁵ Haidar was appointed Faujdar of Dindigal and his forces were considerably increased.

he extorted from the people.¹ He conquered strongholds and cities till he laid siege to the capital of Maissur, the residence of his master, who defended himself with incredible valour.² But Aidar through his negotiations which Bento de Campos, Portuguese commander of the white troops in the Anand Raja's service, induced him to desert (to the enemy) with all his following though the Commandant with the Pe. Fr. Amaro, a Franciscan devotee, had sworn to the miserable prince over an image of our lady, the virgin, which he used to keep probably as a secret Catholic, promising to comply with his prayers not to withdraw from his operations with the aforesaid white troops and Anand Raja found himself compelled to capitulate to his vassal. This detestable treachery so much scandalised the whole kingdom that it animated even the confidante of Aidar, a Gentoo Bramene, Canda Rao,³ by name, who privately protested to the King of Sering Patan that unless he immediately devised some remedy for such glaring infidelity he would himself be shortly reduced to the same miserable plight as his father-in-law and general, the unfortunate Anand Raja.

Impressed by this warning the king issued orders for the imprisonment or death of Aidar Naique, but as the secret of this important business leaked,⁴ the rebel succeeded in escaping from the clutches of the executioners of the royal court, whence he fled alone under cover of night with some thirty horses and four camels loaded with money and precious jewels. He sought refuge in the strongholds he had reduced above the defiles of Tripatur and Vanabari⁵ and obtained shelter against all human expectations at Bangalur (which was) the capital of his conquests. All other districts situated below those passes were ceded to the Marata for the freedom of the army of Muctumo Saibu,⁶ Aidar Naique's brother-in-law, whom Essagi Pant⁷ had besieged in such a manner that he could neither relieve the strongholds nor escape out of his hands.

¹ A large sum was realised in 1759 to pay indemnity to the Maratha invaders.

² Nanda Raj was besieged at Maisur and defended himself for three months. It is to be noted that he had been compelled to resign his office before these operations.

³ Khande Rao, a Maharashtra Brahman, was Haidar's Dewan and was mainly, if not wholly, responsible for his financial measures.

⁴ According to Wilks Khande Rao connived at Haidar's flight after openly firing on his camp.

⁵ Both of these strongholds (Tripatore and Vaniambaddy of Wilks) are in the Bare Mahal Districts.

⁶ Makdum Ali or Makdum Saheb.

⁷ Visaji Krishna Prisiwala.

At this time the flourishing French settlement Pondicheri surrendered to the English who had waged against the French a prolonged war by land and sea. As Aidar Naique always entertained the design of persecuting his sovereign he easily secured to his side a detachment of the French troops commanded by Mr. Alen which probably accompanied the Bishop of Alicarnasse¹ who had gone up (the mountains) to conduct some negotiations with the neighbouring princes as they had nowhere to go when they learnt of the loss of Pondicheri.

With these white troops and some three thousand men only Aidar Naique marched against his master, the king of Sering Patan who offered him battle with an army of ten thousand men commanded by that Bramene, Canda Rao, who by his mature judgment had proved himself worthy of such confidence, but as the majority of the officers of that army were Moors, the astute and cunning rebel easily corrupted them with presents and promises, so that at the first encounter they put themselves into a precipitate flight leaving arms, artillery and all their retinue, and victory was declared for the fraudulent and rebellious Moor.

Finding himself master of the field Aidar Naique set to enlarge his force without the loss of a moment, and encamped before Sering Patan. He informed his master that it was his intention to obey him for he had always recognised him as his lord, but the only business that brought him to the field was to secure the freedom of his family whom he had left at the capital, and to make some demonstration with his subordinate Canda Rao that might serve as an example for others. However, he desired above everything to give him all personal satisfaction that might meet with his royal approval.

The king allowed himself to be deluded by the poisonous policy of Aidar Naique and enjoined him to come to his presence, but the rebel availed himself of this occasion to enter the city of Sering Patan with many troops, a few in his company, and others in such disguise as might not create any suspicion of a surprise.

¹ The Bishop of Halicarnassus, "a church militant prelate of doubtful history," negotiated an alliance between Haider and the French of Pondichery, as a result of which Makhdum Ali was despatched to co-operate with them. The Bishop afterwards visited the Maratha camp also probably to enlist their support for his principals.

All of them were instructed as to how they should take possession of the gates. Without any one daring to offer any resistance he took hold of the city and with it the entire kingdom of Sering Patan. For better security of this new conquest as well as that of the principality of Maissur he deprived his sovereign of all his rights and seized all his treasures.

As Aidar Naique became very opulent he enlarged his army of cavalry and Sipais and with nearly ten thousand men conquered the province of Maracassira¹ from Morarrao² and another province of the same name from the prince Chicvalapur,³ who submitted out of fright at the first clash of the war.

Subsequently having learnt that Bassalatjang, brother of Nizamali, Nabobo of the Deccan, had besieged the Marata stronghold Oscota,⁴ Aidar Naique offered to assist that Mogol prince in that war at his own expense if the latter honoured him with the title of Nabobo of Sira, which favour was usually granted by the Mogol Emperor alone, with the allowance that the Nabobo of the Deccan also could honour any person who performed any remarkable deed with the same favour. The prince accepted Aidar Naique's proposal,⁵ granted him the honour he sought, and personally went to visit him in his tent, but having captured the fort of Oscota, Aidar Naique entirely failed in his stipulations and kept the fort with all the artillery found there. Henceforth Aidar Naique styled himself as Nabobo Aidar Ali Can.

As he had declared war against the Marata he laid siege to the fort of Sira and took it without much resistance. Continuing in his marches and great good luck the Nabobo entered into the principality of Chitaldrug which he subjugated, collecting tribute without any resistance. At the same time he achieved the conquest of Tripatur and Vanabari which he had ceded to the Maratha to secure the freedom of his brother-in-law's army of which we have treated above.

¹ Merg Sera of Wilks.

² Murari Rao, Chief of Gutti, was a descendant of Bahirji, brother of the famous Maratha general Shantaji Ghorpade.

³ Little Balipour of Wilks.

⁴ Modern Hoskote.

⁵ In fact the prince was not legally competent to confer any such honour, though the narrative is correct.

In this manner finding that a woman ¹ with few troops ruled over the kingdom of Canara, in the neighbourhood of Goa, the rebel Nabobo fell upon that land of gold and reduced it perhaps with presents and promises,² with all its strongholds, fortifications and treasures which according to the firman amounted to the huge sum of three millions of pigodas, equivalent to twenty-four millions of xerafins, without anybody firing a single shot against his army; the unfortunate queen and the prince ³ she had brought up as the heir of the kingdom, could not help falling into his hands. For centuries together since the discovery of India this realm supplied Asia with all its rice, Europe with a large quantities of pepper and China with sandals which commodities these dominions produced in abundance. But this new conqueror forbids all nations the benefit of their provision of rice which is the universal food of the east.

The ambition of this fraudulent Nabobo is still greater than even his spirits, for, not content with vast conquests and a rich kingdom with excellent seaports, frequented by all the nations of Europe and Asia with best articles of trade, he proceeded to devastate the country above the gates from the river Cusnam ⁴ to the defiles of Ponda, conquering and subjugating forts and provinces and rendering many potentates tributary on his way back to Bedrul, capital of Canara, now called Aidarnagar. While the Raja of Sunda,⁵ a neighbour of his and ours, was negotiating with him for peace, the Nabobo himself suddenly entered into his territories and corrupted the fidelity of his vassals with a huge sum of eight lacks of roupies, took possession of his capital Sundem,⁶ and in the same manner of all his strongholds. Not having met with any resistance he got down to Sivansara ⁷ which he reduced and the Gulf of Gales ⁸ with the forts of Piro⁹ and Ximpim.¹⁰ Only the fort of Ancola,¹¹ which is

¹ Virammaji, widow of Baswappa Nayak of the Kiladi dynasty of Bednur.

² Haidar received valuable information from an ex-minister of Bednur, then in disgrace.

³ Somasekhara.

⁴ The Krishna.

⁵ Suwai Imadi Sadashiva.

⁶ The capital bore the same name as the principality of Sunda, though the Portuguese spelt it differently.

⁷ The Portuguese were highly interested in this place, as they had a church and missionary centre here, which formed the subject-matter of a treaty in 1762.

⁸ In the district of Karwar.

⁹ Otherwise known as Sadashivgad.

¹⁰ A small island with a fortress.

¹¹ On the coast south of Piro.

besieged, and that of Cabo de Rama,¹ on the frontier of our province of Salcete, stood on the defensive. The unhappy king, finding himself deserted by all his vassals and compelled to abandon all his realms, entered into our province of Ponda and sought refuge in that city which was conceded by Sr. Conde, Vice Rey,² for it would not be fair to omit to console with a cordial reception a king (in his affliction) who since the days of his sire and grandsires through the course of centuries has ever been a much valued friend of the State.

¹ Cape Ramas, now under Portuguese jurisdiction.

² Manoel de Saldanha de Albuquerque, Conde de Ega, Viceroy from 1756 to 1765.



AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTION IN SPECIAL MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS

PROFESSOR H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

I

WHEN the Punjab scheme for imparting agricultural training was adopted in Bengal with certain necessary modifications, the authorities introduced a four years' agricultural course for High English schools. In the Middle English schools it was arranged to teach agriculture in Classes V and VI. As an experimental measure, sixteen Middle English schools were encouraged to start two Continuation classes to cover the full course. Government makes a special grant of Rs. 60 per month towards the maintenance of two extra teachers for the two Continuation classes. According to the official report 'these grants to Middle English schools are only intended for the support of a special type of Agricultural Continuation school.' The full High English school curriculum is taught in the Extension classes "subject to the provision of the necessary hours for agricultural training." This amounts to four periods per week in Classes V and VI and six periods per week in the Continuation classes. Every Middle English school with Continuation classes loses its grant as soon as it is converted into a High English school.

Let us try to ascertain what exactly is the purpose of having the two Continuation classes in the Middle English schools of this special type and to what extent it has been realised. Is it to give the students general education or to train them in agriculture as a profession? It appears to the writer as though the schools are an unsatisfactory hybrid which serve neither the one nor the other purpose. So far as training in agriculture is concerned, we find that the four years' course is identical in every respect with the course taught in those High English schools which have agricultural classes. The students have to go through the same curriculum while the amount of practical work done in the fields is also the same. The courses in subjects

other than agriculture are also identical in every way with the course taught in High English schools. In fact, the "agricultural" classes of Middle English schools with the two Continuation classes correspond in every way to the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th classes in High English schools. It, therefore, follows that the students of these schools come to the end of their education in what corresponds to the 8th class of High English schools. Considered as a means of imparting training in agriculture, they do not offer any special advantages as compared with High English schools which have agricultural classes attached to them. The starting and maintaining of such schools can be justified only in those areas where there are no High English schools with agricultural classes and also where it is the intention of the authorities to discourage English education of the High school standard giving in exchange some kind of instruction in agricultural operations.

According to the last Quinquennial Education Review, "pupils who join a Middle English school intend in most cases to go on to the High school. Nearly three out of four of the boys in the highest middle class continue their studies in the high school." If the fact referred to above is correct, it follows that the Continuation classes in agriculture in specially selected Middle English schools are not much of a success either as a means of imparting instruction in agriculture, or of keeping the more backward and less gifted among the students from joining High English schools and the University. The special classes do not impart the type of agricultural education which would make them good farmers; they merely have the effect of retaining their students till they reach the 8th class after which a majority get themselves admitted into the 9th class of High English schools. Probably the reason why some of the Middle English schools were turned into High English schools was that the authorities realised that the latter are more popular and they did not want to lose their students after they had finished the Continuation classes.

Examining the scheme from the standpoint of finance, we find that the recurring cost to Government for helping sixteen of these specially selected Middle English schools would cover the expenditure to be incurred for assisting thirty-two H. E. schools with agricultural classes, provided Government accepts the proposal put forward elsewhere by the writer of helping High English schools with agricultural classes by bearing part of the salary of a teacher of agriculture. This would have

the effect of a wider diffusion of agricultural instruction in the province.

The writer, however, feels that there is a way by which these special Middle English schools can be made to serve a really useful purpose. In his opinion, schools of this type ought to be located in densely populated agricultural areas where the agricultural population is destined to undergo slow starvation unless it betakes itself to intensive production. It is well known that there are parts of East Bengal where the density of population approaches 3,400 per square mile. In spite of remarkable fertility of the soil, due to the deposit of silt, the people lead most unsatisfactory economic lives; their standard of living is very low. These schools would serve the best interests of the country if they could be converted into centres for giving agricultural training of the required type to young people of such areas. In the U. P. these agricultural schools have been located in similar areas. Then again in the ordinary Middle English school with two classes in agriculture, the students are drawn from various social strata. The ambition of a majority of the students as well as of their guardians is that they should go up for higher education. Neither those children of agricultural stock who are not likely to profit from higher studies nor their parents can be expected to be intelligent enough to recognise their intellectual or financial limitations. The result is that both they and their parents succumb to the temptation of bettering their prospects by prosecuting higher studies. The less intelligent children waste their energies and the parents very often ruin themselves by incurring heavy financial responsibilities to maintain their children in institutions devoted to higher studies. In fact the 7th and 8th classes of High English schools when attached to Middle English schools located in areas with an influential and prosperous *bhadralok* population, tend to have an effect which is directly opposite to what is intended; instead of keeping the children in the countryside, they rather take them away from it.

If, on the other hand, these special schools are located in preponderatingly agricultural areas with a poor and struggling population mainly dependent on agriculture for their living, the majority of the students are likely to be drawn from agricultural stock, both children and their parents having thus a natural affinity to the soil. Lack of an aggressive *bhadralok* atmosphere and of means also would tend to keep down foolish ambition. This, the writer is inclined

to think, is one of the reasons which explains the success of the "bias" school in the Punjab. If greater emphasis is laid on agriculture, if the curriculum is made still more practical, and specially, if instruction in intensive farming and occupations subsidiary to agriculture is imparted, the chances are that the training obtained in these schools in improved methods of agriculture as well as in "general" education would be more useful to the students in their daily life. At least this is an experiment well worth making. Such institutions would be a success only if the schools are staffed by the right type of teachers, and if their work is supervised by sympathetic officers of the Agriculture Department.

The writer will even go so far as to state that in a majority of the special Middle Schools the starting of which in purely agricultural areas he advocates it would be worth while to drop the teaching of English altogether. It is this knowledge of English which is mainly responsible for the aimless drifting of unfit students into High English schools, for it makes it comparatively easy for the less fitted among them to get admission into these institutions. The dropping of the teaching of English in these special schools would set free not merely certain periods in the curriculum now devoted to it but, what is more, it would save much time and energy of the pupils. Our villagers as a class need instruction in sanitation, and co-operation, etc., far more than in English. These and equally important kindred subjects might be included in the curriculum of these Special Middle schools. The students should receive instruction in subjects the pursuit of which after their return home would tend to raise the standard of village life in all its different aspects. If the teachers of our rural Primary schools are recruited from the students of these Special Middle schools after of course they have obtained their training as teachers, they might be expected to become leaders in a new and more successful era of rural reconstruction.

As stated elsewhere, the farms in these schools are small in area, being in fact not more than five acres. In one way this is an advantage for the agricultural holding of the cultivating family in Bengal is invariably a small one, being on the average not more than 12 bighas. The natural inference is that cultivation in order to be a profitable proposition must be of an intensive character. The agricultural instruction imparted in these schools must be adapted to meet this need, in spite of its greater demands for both capital and labour.

The student must be taught to cultivate finer and heavier-yielding paddy, jute, sugarcane, etc., good seeds must be used as well as plenty of manure. The minimum amount of food crops like paddy must be grown and more emphasis laid on commercial crops. In determining what crops should be grown, proper attention should be paid to the local demand. This has to be done in view of the limited facilities for transport and also in order to avoid loss on the part of the cultivator inevitable where he has to depend on middlemen in order to dispose of his money crops. In farms situated within reasonable distances from large centres of population, the cultivator will have to depend on poultry, dairy and the early and late varieties of vegetables which always command a higher price as compared with vegetables grown during their season. Fruit growing also is a profitable line for the agriculturist. The school farm which should serve as a model to the country side in which it is located, should always be one step ahead of the farms of the local people. Here experiments in the growing of new and untried crops which are profitable to the cultivators should always be made. These would stimulate the interest of the local agriculturists and indirectly teach them to follow the example set by these schools.

These special schools should have not gardens but farms attached to them. These, it ought to be remembered, have an educative value apart from the service they render to the cause of agricultural education. Local cultivators who are not above criticising what they are pleased to consider new-fangled notions, often visit Government and other farms if only to find fault with the new methods. If the school farm is efficiently maintained, they cannot but fail to be struck by what they see. The writer who has enjoyed extensive opportunities of mixing with and even living for days in the humble houses of Indian Christian cultivators in a majority of the districts of Bengal, has occasionally heard admissions of this type from his hosts or their neighbours. It is also his experience that when the wards of cultivators who naturally possess some knowledge about agriculture see the improvement both in quality and quantity of the crops produced under improved methods, they, on their return home, urge their guardians and neighbours to adopt them. This indirect spontaneous propaganda, the writer considers as more fruitful than the direct propaganda by the officers of the Agricultural Department for whom this may be supposed to be part of their official duties.

Only too often the charge brought against students of agricultural schools is that in spite of the training they receive, they are useless for village occupations. To meet this just criticism, in every school satisfactory arrangements will have to be made for teaching students work in local demand. The writer had once the privilege of visiting the Continuation Class Middle English School located at Kowrapukur, Twenty-four Parganas, organised by the L.M.S. Mission. The plan of work outlined above is followed very profitably in this most useful institution. It was found that the boys were learning fish-trap making, mat-making, ordinary carpentry and smithy of the type required by the agriculturists, house-building with mud-walls, thatching with straw, tin-roof work and other things of a similar nature including weaving.

The training in these institutions should be such as to make the student understand the extent to which man with his superior intelligence and knowledge can harness the powers of nature for his benefit in the field of agriculture, to fit him to take the fullest possible advantage of all opportunities as they offer themselves, and to utilise them in co-operation with his fellows so as to send him back to the land a more intelligent and valuable cultivator. All important aspects of agriculture including animal husbandry, the elements of mensuration and surveying, elementary carpentry and smithy with special reference to village needs, co-operative credit, the elements of personal and community hygiene, should, among other things, be included in the curriculum.

The writer attaches great importance to the teaching of co-operation in these special Middle schools with Continuation classes because apart from the economic results of co-operation to which he thinks it unnecessary to make any reference here, the movement is perhaps most admirably suited for the purpose of effecting a general moral improvement. With the establishment of friendlier relationships resulting from joint efforts for the realisation of common objects, the constant bickering over trifling matters and the consequent bitterness tend to disappear. The lower classes are raised above their chronic economic misery and social and moral degradation. They are trained to mix on terms of equality with other members of the Co-operative Society. Rural life undergoes a slow but sure revolution for the better. By imitation, the poorer classes are taught to keep their children in school for a longer period. The cultivator

may be lectured on the desirability of using larger amounts or newer kinds of manure, improved agricultural appliances and methods but he is not likely to adopt them on an extensive scale till education of a special type based on the facts of rural economy is more widely diffused. Few of the members of Co-operative societies in our province have passed through Primary or Secondary schools. Those who have done so, have not been called upon to study books explaining the advantages accruing from its adoption. It is necessary therefore that our new race of farmers should be taught this important subject from the purely practical and utilitarian point of view. It is thus that they will know how to utilise it to their best advantage and it is only too likely that the success they are bound to achieve will have the effect of inducing others to adopt and benefit by it.

Sir Horace Plunkett in his "Rural Life Problems of the United States" (p. 123) has drawn attention to one very important effect of the Co-operative movement. In the purely rural areas, what is required is rural leadership. In our province, the uneducated cultivator has come to regard the Co-operative Society as a means of securing loans more easily and on better terms than from the professional money lenders. This fact has been pointed out by Jack in his survey of Faridpur District. His view appears to be that this tendency is due to lack of advice coming from quarters which command the respect and confidence of the villager. It is possible that after the right kind of training, the youths trained properly in the principles of co-operation and living in their village homes and as such, familiar with the financial condition of the members of Co-operative societies, may be able to supply this much-needed leadership. The paid officers of the Co-operative department are at present too few in number to be able to fill this rôle satisfactorily. The areas under their charge are too large to enable them to come into intimate contact with a majority of the members. Such trained young men by reason of their local knowledge, experience and the influence they will be able to command after they have proved their worth, may be expected to give efficient assistance to their neighbours in reducing the burden of their debt by arranging compositions with the money-lenders. They could supplement the work of the Debt Settlement Boards by bringing to bear on the money-lenders the pressure of public opinion. It is a well-known fact that an appreciable part of rural indebtedness consists of unpaid interest. Here a combination of tact and public pressure

would work wonders. People trained in the way suggested above while not highly educated or good speakers, by reason of their local knowledge and experience, could still do much to promote rural welfare in all its different aspects in the communities of which they are members and could thus supplement the work of the officers of the Co-operative Department. Such men will not only have to discover themselves but also to be discovered by their neighbours. Men qualified to act as rural leaders by reason of their possession of the necessary natural gifts are not wanting but in order that they might be able to use their powers to the fullest possible extent, it is desirable that they should possess in addition the required technical knowledge and training. It is for this reason that the writer feels that instruction in the principles of the practical working of the co-operative movement should be included in the curriculum of these special schools.

So far as the writer is aware, proper emphasis has not yet been laid on the very important matter of accurate accounting in agriculture. He considers it essential that the students should learn simple costings in order that they might have a comparatively correct idea of the value of the crops raised. This must by all means form part of the training. They should be allowed to enjoy the proceeds of the individual plots cultivated by them while the sale proceeds of the school farm proper should be claimed by the authorities. The proceeds of the individual plots may be given to the students either in cash or in kind or, again, the cash obtained by sale may be utilised for meeting the whole or part of the school dues. Anything over, may be distributed as pocket money. Another alternative is to use the sale proceeds as prizes for the best worker in the farm. The sale proceeds of the "general" plots on a co-operative basis would give training in co-operation, the value of which cannot be overestimated.

In the report of the Fraser Commission published in 1922, it was laid down authoritatively, probably for the first time, that the utility of the village school does not end with being the place where the teacher teaches the three R's. Its real function is to become the centre of village life. This policy has been carried out successfully at the Middle Vernacular school at Moga in the Punjab, and also, by Mr. F. L. Brayne well-known for what he has done for village uplift in that province.

It is the suggestion of the writer that these special Middle

English schools with Continuation classes should be organised in such a way that they will fulfil this important function for our province and that their students after finishing their studies and returning to their homes will, each and every one of them, be a centre for the practical application in their daily life, of the ideas with which they had been imbued while under instruction. Among other work to which these special schools might devote themselves and of which no mention is made here as it is felt that everyone knows the needs of our province, there is one special need to which the writer would draw the attention of his readers. Not much progress can be expected unless something is done to prevent the lapse to illiteracy. For this we need libraries containing books of interest to the agriculturist in rural areas with a preponderatingly agricultural population. It has to be acknowledged first of all that we do not have a sufficiently large number of books in the vernacular on subjects which are calculated to arouse the interest of the ordinary peasant. Their number has to be increased. This is not a phenomenon confined to Bengal. In the Bombay Quinquennial Review for 1928 (p. 215) it is stated "with a view to encouraging the production of vernacular literature calculated to suit the needs of adults who have left school after completing the lower primary course, steps are being taken to get suitable books on useful subjects prepared and published." So far as the writer is aware, no such progressive step has been taken in our province. A second difficulty is the location of these village libraries ; for it is found that even if local enterprise is successful in begging and buying a number of books, it experiences great difficulty in securing a suitable place in which to keep them. Granting that the first difficulty will disappear in time and that an adequate supply of books of the proper type will be available, these schools could do useful work by setting apart a couple of rooms where the village libraries could be housed. The staff would thus come in contact with the members of the library who, in their turn, would learn much from what they heard and saw in these schools. Then again if the staff take a prominent part in the local Co-operative Society, they would be able similarly to make their usefulness felt in the rural area in which the schools will be situated. Under the circumstances, the students under training may be expected to acquire the habit of reading which they could keep up all through their life provided of course that they are taught in such a way as to appreciate fully its practical utility in their daily life.

Mr. H. F. Miller who is in charge of the Kowrapukur Continuation school referred to already informed the writer that in his opinion training of this type can be imparted more easily in boarding than in day schools. In the latter, the boy comes at say 10-30 A.M. and finishes his work by 4 P.M. in the afternoon. The cultivator has to work in the fields, morning and evening, and has to remain outdoors both in sun and rain. A complete and satisfactory training for leading an agricultural life cannot be imparted to day scholars between 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. It is far easier to shape that type of character which is so urgent a necessity in our villages in boarding rather than in day schools. Mr. Miller's view is that only in the former can the student fully realise the value of co-operation and the dignity of labour and learn day in and day out those lessons which only can make him contented with his humble lot in the scheme of things. If Mr. Miller is correct, and the writer thinks he is, it follows that it may be necessary to make arrangements for the accommodation of at least those students who come to these institutions from a distance while local students may be called upon to stay the whole day in the school.

Admitting as we must that agriculture has not as yet made the wide appeal it should in our country, and also fully recognising the fact that the ambition of parents and guardians whose hereditary occupation is agriculture, is to impart literary education to their children and wards in order that they might adopt profitable sedentary occupations, we have to find out some method to prevent the divorce of our youths from the land which is proceeding with such alarming rapidity. If this is our aim, we have to do two things. First, we have to take back the jobless educated or partly educated *bhadralok* to the land and secondly, to discourage the less gifted children of rural areas from becoming urbanised. The different schemes inaugurated by Government under the Agriculture and the Co-operative departments of training *bhadralok* youths and of settling them in Khas Mahal lands under favourable terms and conditions may be regarded as a means for the fulfilment of the first object. So far as the attainment of the second object is concerned, the writer would also refer to certain Colonisation schemes started in some districts of East and West Bengal which are providing land for uneducated landless agriculturists. He proposes to deal with these schemes later on and will do no more than refer to them here.

In order to discourage the exodus to towns of those children of agriculturists who are not fitted by their natural gifts, education and training for town occupations, we have to prove that agriculture carried on under proper conditions is a paying proposition. As conducted now, it does not yield even a livelihood. We have therefore to give them training in improved agricultural methods and occupations. These special schools, if properly organised and controlled, could fulfil this function efficiently. Agriculture as conducted in modern times demands in addition to physical labour, a certain amount of education. To create a new race of farmers who would be willing to adopt new methods as they are developed by the Agriculture Department or by future agricultural research and experiment, we have to impart to them a certain minimum amount of general education. They must have it in sufficient amount to be able to take an intelligent interest in developments in agricultural knowledge, to appreciate their value, to keep themselves in touch with the results of the latest experimental and research work, and lastly, they must be able to study and understand the contents of bulletins, etc., issued from various sources. Periodicals devoted primarily to agriculture and its various problems will also have to be studied by them. All these presuppose not only what has been called "permanent literacy," but also a definite amount of education. It is the contention of the writer that men of this type should obtain their education in these special schools which should be so organised that while from one point of view they would be Middle English or Middle Vernacular schools with a four or five years' course, from another point of view they should correspond to what may be called Primary schools of agriculture. In these special institutions, it should be made a point to offer special facilities to the agriculturists as well as their children to attend special short courses in the vernacular, suggestions about which have been offered elsewhere. The agricultural curriculum should be thoroughly revised in order to make it more practical and of greater immediate utility to the cultivator.

Instead of having some sixteen of these schools as at present which the writer holds are not properly organised and are therefore probably useless, money should be provided more liberally and special schools of the type suggested above should be started in large numbers all over the country. This will, of course, cost money. But the writer fails to see how work of this type can be

done without incurring expenditure. At present the amount spent in the province of Bengal for the imparting of agricultural education is so pitifully small as to call forth nothing but contempt. That agricultural education is noticeable by its absence is only a result of the illiberal way in which the problem has been treated.

(To be Continued)



FRENCH SOCIOLOGY TODAY

PROFESSOR EARLE EUBANK

University of Cincinnati.

THE following inventory and summary of sociological instruction in France is based upon visitation of, and conference with, several of the men mentioned, supplemented by recent correspondence:

La Sorbonne (Paris).—The University of Paris, which is supported by the national government of France as most French universities are, consists of five faculties: (1) law, including political economy; (2) medicine; (3) pharmacy; (4) sciences; and (5) philosophy and letters. The two last named comprise *La Sorbonne*, which corresponds approximately to what would be the college of liberal arts in American universities.

The first Doctor's degree in sociology to be granted by *La Sorbonne* was to Emile Durkheim, about 1890, when he presented to the university examining committee his doctoral dissertation, *La Division du travail: une etude sociologique*. He was called to the faculty at Bordeaux to conduct a course in social science and pedagogy, the first of this title in France. Here he was a colleague of his former teacher at that university, Dr. Alfred Espinas, and also of Dr. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. In 1902 he was called to the chair of the science of education at *La Sorbonne* and in 1906 he was named "professor of sociology and pedagogy," again the first to be so designated in the republic. He was also once more the colleague of Espinas and Lévy-Bruhl, who had preceded him there. The former retired in 1907; the latter, only recently retired, is still active as president of the Institute of Ethnology, which he helped to found and of which he has been head from the beginning.

Following Durkheim's death in 1917, his chair, still bearing the title of "sociology" was eventually filled by Dr. Paul Fauconnet, its present incumbent. Associated with him until recently has been Dr. Celestin Bouglé, who, as professor of the history of social economy, divided his time between *La Sorbonne* and *L'Ecole normale supérieure*. Larger responsibilities at the latter institution compelled

his resignation in 1935, since which time his place has been filled by Dr. Maurice Halbwachs, formerly of the University of Strasbourg.

L'Ecole normale supérieure (Paris).—This is a special institution of high rank closely affiliated with and neighbouring to La Sorbonne, whose lecturers are selected by special examination from men of outstanding capacity from various sources. Only about twenty-five professors comprise its faculty, so such a selection is a high honor and an evidence of unusual ability.

L'Ecole is divided horizontally into two parts: (1) L'Ecole normale, corresponding approximately in rank to normal schools in America, is a teachers' college for the preparation of instructors for the elementary public schools. Here all pre-teaching students are required to take a course entitled "Concepts of Sociology as Applied to Education." The total student body ranges from forty to one hundred, the number being limited by the state according to the demand for teachers. (2) L'Ecole normale supérieure, though a part of the same institution, is wholly separated from the lower school. It is of graduate rank and is designed primarily for the preparation of high-school and college teachers. The enrolment is rigidly limited to twenty-eight male students per year, with two or three women students usually admitted in addition. A major feature of this division is the "*Centre de documentation sociale*," directed by Bouglé, which is an important library for sociological data and which does some research. Although sociology is not a required item of the curriculum, Bouglé's central interest in the subject makes it a permeative influence throughout. His appointment to the directorship of this institution in 1935 is the reason for his withdrawal from La Sorbonne.

College de France (Paris).—This is a scientific institution of philosophy and letters, autonomous since it was founded in the sixteenth century. It gives no credits, grants no degrees, and makes no requirements of its students. It is open without charge to persons who are capable of profiting by its lectures, all of which are given by a carefully selected staff comprising some of the nation's most distinguished scholars. Although sociology does not appear in their titles, it has been effectively represented here by Marcel Mauss, nephew and literary executor of Emile Durkheim, professor of the history of religion and—until his death in 1935—by Francois Simiand, professor of the history of labor.

Faculty of law of the University of Paris.—Henri Levy-Bruhl, son of Lucien Levy-Bruhl, who is on this faculty, is especially interested in legal sociology—a field in which he has written considerably.

La Conservatoire nationale des arts et métiers (Paris).—This is principally a museum of technology and is very extensive, with an important program of lectures which are an integral part in the rounding out of its work. It is now placing much emphasis on the social sciences and includes many matters of sociological interest. Social research has come to be regarded as one of its functions. Simiand was on its staff before going to College de France, but there is as yet no successor in sociology.

College de St. Germain (in a suburb of Paris).—Sociology is represented here, although not by title, in Achilles Ouy, one of the active members of L'Institut International de Sociologie, and a contributor to its *Revue*.

The foregoing are all Parisian. Outside of the capital the chief centres of sociological interest are:

The University of Strasbourg.—The only title of professor of sociology which has been given in France, other than that at La Sorbonne, has been held for a number of years by Maurice Halbwachs at Strasbourg. Recently he has accepted an appointment at La Sorbonne to fill the place left by the resignation of Bouglé. Closely associated with him for some years at Strasbourg has been Charles Blondel, professor of pathological psychology, but whose interests and activities have been definitely sociological. In addition to these there is a friendly relation among all the social sciences, and "the sociological point of view" is becoming increasingly apparent.

The University of Bordeaux.—In a way this may almost be regarded as the academic cradle of contemporary sociology in France since it was here that Durkheim taught the first course in social science and where he developed much of the interest that is today dominant in French sociological circles. His influence, and that of Espinas and Lévy-Bruhl, is still a part of the tradition of the institution. For many years his place was occupied by Gaston Richard, another of the leaders of L'Institut International de Sociologie, of which he was for five years the secretary. Upon his retirement, about 1932 he was succeeded by M. Bonnafeons, a former student of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, as professor of philosophy and social science.

He, in turn, has temporarily withdrawn to take a position in the Ministry of Labor, being replaced by M. Gurvitch.

The University of Rennes.—Georges Favy, a disciple of Mauss, who is professor of philosophy and also rector of the university, is not only an important supporter of the sociological movement in France but has become one of its important mouthpieces as well. His volume, entitled *Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (Alcan, 1931), is widely quoted and is regarded by his French colleagues as the best brief summarization—especially of the work of Durkheim and of Lévy-Bruhl.

The chief graduate center of France for sociology as for most other subjects is, of course, the University of Paris, with its affiliated institutions. Some three to four hundred students per year are enrolled in the various sociological courses at La Sorbonne, of whom perhaps fifteen to twenty would be defined as sociology “majors” in the American sense of the term. At Strasbourg the number is perhaps two-thirds as many. In general, however, interest seems to be increasing throughout the country.

The educational system in France normally calls for six years of elementary school, followed by six of secondary education. Above this is the college course, a minimum of three years, leading to the degree of *licencié*, slightly higher than the Bachelor's degree in America. Another minimum of three years of “graduate” work leads to degree of *agrégé*, which is somewhat above our Master's rank. Beyond this are the various doctorates, of which the *Docteur ès lettres* corresponds most nearly to our Ph. D. No one may receive a permanent position in any of the national universities without having reached this highest rank. Three or four doctorates in sociology are usually conferred at La Sorbonne each year; there are never more than five or six. All doctoral theses in the field must be written with Fauconnet, Bouglé, Halbwachs, Mauss, or Blondel (or, before his death, with Simiand). Since these men are all definitely of the Durkheim school of thought, there seem to be an assurance of continuation for the present of this approach to the virtual exclusion of others in sociological instruction in France.

[We should like to add that the University of Clermont-Ferrand also offers a course in sociology. Professor Emile Lasbax of the Faculty of Letters is in charge of this subject although, as usual in several other instances, his chief interest is philosophy. He is the

author of *La Cité Humaine: Esquisse d'une Sociologie Dialectique* (Paris 1927) in two volumes and *La France ira-t-elle à un Troisième Empire ?* (Paris 1934). Besides, the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, the official organ of the Institute International de Sociologie is edited by Lasbax.

It is also worth while to mention that non-Durkheimian sociology is represented in France today not only by Gaston Richard (Bordeaux) but also by Emile Lasbax who attaches special importance to Espinas's activism (*l'impulsion vitale*) as against Durkheim's determinism.—B.K.S.]



TO AND FROM POLYNESIA

BY KALIDAS NAG

WHILE I was penning my article: "To and from South America" (*vide Calcutta Review*, Dec. 1936), on my return trip from the World Writers (P. E. N.) Congress at Buenos Aires, a cable reached me in London. It was the formal invitation from the American University of Hawaii to organize its Department of Indian Culture and to deliver lectures for a semester, on Indian Civilisation as the first Visiting Professor from India. Thanks to the kind considerations of our enlightened Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, and to the friendly co-operation of my colleagues of the Post-Graduate Department, I was placed on deputation and sailed from Bombay (9th January, 1937) per S.S. *Anyo Maru*. That was the earliest available boat that could enable me to catch up the big N. Y. K. boat *Chichibu Maru* which brought me from Yokohama to Honolulu in due time. Prof. Gregg M. Sinclair, Director of the Oriental Institute of the University, spared no pains in arranging for adequate publicity and the Indian professor was besieged on board the ship as it entered the Pearl Harbour, with prayers for special interviews from the representatives of the *Advertiser*, and the *Star Bulletin* and an Anglo-Japanese paper. I stammered a few words with the little vitality that was left after nearly a month's voyage, and was agreeably surprized to discover the same evening, that I have been made to appear staggeringly clever in my remarks, by the local journalists who seldom miss the chance of making a stunt of any fresh arrival! Quite a little crowd came to greet me and I was so glad to meet two Indian friends with their family, one and all bringing beautiful garlands (*lei* in Hawaiian), so that I appeared or disappeared in the photo, being "over head and ears" in garlands—a charming parallelism between the Hindu and the Hawaiian customs!

From the Pearl Harbour, I was conducted to the University campus, one of the finest that I have seen, soft green lawns with the clear blue sky above, the sphynx-like ridge Diamond Head overlooking the whole, and the ever-changing melody of colours on the mysterious ocean encircling this "Paradise of the Pacific." The

Hawaiian Islands (20 in number of which only 8 are inhabited) were annexed to the United States (Aug. 12, 1898) about a year before the acquisition by the U. S. A. (April 11, 1899) from Spain of the Philippines, which brought America to the very heart of the Orient. At the end of the first decade (1898-1908) we find the foundation of the University of Hawaii with 5 students and 12 faculty members or 2 instructors per student. In 1937 when I had the privilege of joining the University Faculty, the teaching staff rose to 256 and the student body to nearly 3,000. The nucleus of the University was the College of Hawaii which started conferring B.A. degrees from 1910 and B.Sc. from 1914, when the cost per student was over 1,600 dollars. The College was raised to the rank of a University in 1920 and with consequent increase in enrolment figures the cost per student had been cut to less than half, *i. e.*, 700 dollars and in 1927 to 450 dollars per student. Addition of new departments and divisions of research kept pace with the growth of the University. To develop mental tests in that wonderful ethnic laboratory of Hawaii, the Legislature established in 1921 the Psychological and Psychopathic Clinic now under Prof. Dr. Porteus. In 1924 the University undertook the management of the experiment station of the Association of Hawaiian Pineapple-canners. So the University co-operates with the big Sugar Trusts and maintains some of the best experts, researchers and laboratories on Sugar Technology which attracts numerous students from America, China, Japan and even India. Dr. Upendrakumar Das, D.Sc. (Minnesota) earned golden opinion as a researcher at one of the biggest Sugar Experiment Stations in Honolulu. In the students' roll, I found several Indian students of sugar technology, from Bombay, U. P. and Behar.

The Engineering group was reorganized in 1928, and the Territorial Normal and Training School was affiliated to the University which developed in 1931 the regular Teachers' college. Last though not the least, the Chinese and the Japanese departments working over a decade, were integrated into the Oriental Institute in 1935 with Prof. Gregg M. Sinclair as Director who started developing contacts with the academic groups and thought leaders of the Far East and came as far as India—once the fountain-head of Far Eastern religion, philosophy and culture. For the first time an American University is thus seen to take initiative in understanding the peoples and cultures of the Living Orient and not merely their mummified

prototypes deposited in museums. The University of Hawaii ministering to the needs of a population¹ largely "Oriental," has naturally been trying to develop a special Institute for the study of the living languages and cultures of the principal nations of the Orient starting with China, Japan and India. Let us hope that India through her big Universities and research centres would systematically co-operate with the Oriental Institute of the University of Hawaii. To begin with, all important books written by Indian authors on diverse problems of India, may be sent as friendly gifts to the University Library in order to develop gradually its Indian section which is far from being satisfactory. The generous gift of the entire publication of the University of Calcutta by its Vice-Chancellor, was thankfully received and acknowledged by President D. L. Crawford at the 30th Jubilee Celebrations of the University (March 23-27, 1937). Other Indian Universities and learned societies may extend similar courtesies and cultivate cultural relations with the University of Hawaii for their mutual advantage. Both President Crawford and Prof. Sinclair are eager to establish direct relations with India.

I reserve the detailed examination of the University of Hawaii, for a separate article ; but I cannot help touching here briefly the superbly human atmosphere enveloping it. President and Mrs. Crawford never spare themselves in their spontaneous hospitality, opening their charming home as much for an intimate exchange of views between a select group as for general introduction through a "swell" Tea bringing the whole University Faculty in touch with the representative men and women of Honolulu. So individual professors and their wives overwhelmed me with their courtesies inviting me to their homes, offering their cars and helping me in all possible ways. My learned colleagues like Prof. Sinclair, Dr. Charles Moore of the Department of Philosophy, Prof. W. T. Chan, Visiting Professor of Chinese civilisation, and Dr. A. D. Mead, former Vice-President of the Brown University, U. S. A., honoured my classes with their presence. Highly cultured ladies and gentlemen attended my courses, as "auditors" from outside. Students from other departments often attended my general courses or met me in the discussion groups of

¹ Out of a total population of 393 277, we find, according to the latest (1936) estimate, 149 836 Japanese, 53,550 Filipino, 29 863 Portuguese not considered Caucasians, 27,405 Chinese, 21,594 Hawaiian, 18,271 Asiatic Hawaiian, 19,319 Caucasian Hawaiian, 567,069 other Caucasian, 6,682 Korean 7,470 Puerto Rican and 1,261 Spanish.

my Indian Seminar. I r. Coulter of the Department of Geography cordially invited me for a series of talks in his seminar, on the place of India in the ethnic and historical geography of Asia. The professors show a rare spirit of *camaraderie* in their relations with the international student group. So the Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino Portuguese and American (called Caucasian or Haole) boys and girls fraternize with one another developing an atmosphere of interracial amity rarely found in other academic centres. Two intelligent Negro girls were attending and enjoyed perfect freedom and hospitality of numerous American homes. Excursions, sports, and other recreations help in the growth of *esprit de corps*, and the *socials* organized by the various university clubs, *e. g.*, the Sociology club, the Oriental students club among others, welcome professors and instructors from other Departments and help the general body of students to come into personal contact with the Faculty members.

THE HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Founded in April 1927 the Academy completed the first decade of its existence when it invited me to deliver a series of lectures on the "Art and Archeology of India." It owes its existence to the munificence of Mrs. Charles M. Cooke whose beautiful dream is expressed in the following pregnant paragraphs:

"That our children of many nationalities and races, born far from the centres of art, may receive an intimation of their own cultural legacy and wake to the ideals embodied in the arts of their neighbours, that they may grasp that composite heritage accumulating for the new generations of Hawaii ;

That Hawaiians, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, North Europeans, South Europeans, and all other peoples living here, contacting through the channel of art those deep intuitions common to all, may perceive a foundation on which a new culture, enriched by all the old strains, may be built in these islands ;

That it may contribute to such understanding and mutual respect the Honolulu Academy of Art, opens its doors to this community so situated that it calls East the West and West the East, perhaps in happy continuance of that ancient Polynesian custom of exchanging the names of close friends."

A special feature of the Museum's activities has been the observance of national festivals with appropriate art exhibits, dance and music. The Chinese Moon festival, the Japanese Boy Day, the Korean Spring festival, the Filipino folk dance, among others attracted thousands of men and women of different nationalities developing spontaneously a sympathy for and appreciation of the deeper emotional and cultural life of nations. It is significant that over half of the entire collection of its Museum is oriental, chiefly Chinese and Japanese with a few Indian pieces also. A couple of years ago, a loan Exhibition of Indian art objects from America was organized by the Academy with the expert help of Dr. A. Coomaraswamy. So when I opened my course of lectures on "Indian Art," I was agreeably surprised to find numerous friends of India in Honolulu, who followed my courses with close attention. Dr. C. M. Cooke, and Mrs. Philip Spalding, the son and daughter of the late Mrs. Cooke, received me warmly and Mr. Edgar C. Schenck, the energetic Director and and his talented wife Mrs. Dorothy Schenck, Director of the Educational Department of the Academy, were most friendly to me. Through them I came to know the quiet little group of devoted workers at the Academy: ' Marion Morse, the Librarian, Alyce Hoogs and Marvel Allison, assistants in art education, among others who helped me in every possible way to make my lectures and illustrations as attractive as possible. Through my lectures at the Academy I had the privilege of knowing many American artists interested in India and her epic landscapes, an American incarnation of Japanese artist in Miss Miller and a renowned musician, Mr. Fritz Hart, Director of the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra.

THE BISHOP MUSEUM.

Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a Hawaiian princess born in 1831, was the great granddaughter of Kalaniopuu, king of the island of Hawaii at the time of its discovery by Captain James Cook. She married Charles Reed Bishop in 1850 and he founded, after her death, in 1889 the now famous Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Its first Director, Dr. W. T. Brigham (1898-1918), patiently watched over the collection of, and publications on, Hawaiian antiquities: feather work, mat and basket weaving, carving, bark cloth, stone implements, etc. Dr. H. E. Gregory was the second Director (1919-36) whose service was

loaned to the Museum by the Yale University which maintains a most fruitful and friendly collaboration between their Faculty and the museum experts. Dr. Gregory organized several expeditions into Polynesia and was made President of the first Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress of Honolulu in 1920. The regional survey of the various island groups comprising Polynesia was nearly complete when Dr. Gregory retired but before that he had the satisfaction of sending our esteemed friend Dr. E. C. Handy, ethnographer to the Bishop Museum as its delegate to the All-India Science Congress of 1928 held at our University of Calcutta. Dr. Handy, with the true intuition of an expert ethnologist, discovered soon that to study some aspects of the "Polynesian Origins" (*vide* Bishop Museum, Occasional papers Vol. IX, No. 8, 1930) one cannot help turning to India. He procured a research fellowship for our late lamented friend and colleague Dr. Panchanan Mitra and he returned to India saturated with Polynesian lore. He started publishing a series of articles in "Man in India" (1931-32) but was snatched away by the cruel hand of death at the very prime of his life. His death was regretted by many of his friends of Honolulu, especially of the Bishop Museum group when I met them during my stay at the University of Hawaii. The university keeps close contact with the Bishop Museum for research work and I was deeply touched by the uniform courtesy and cooperation shown by its veteran Director, Dr. Peter H. Buck, and Mr. K. P. Emory, Dr. A. Metraux, Mr. E. H. Bryan and other scholars. Dr. Buck hails from New Zealand and is proud of his Maori heredity which he proclaims through his name Te Rangi Hiroa and he is trying nobly to develop the activities of the Museum extending it outside the limits of Polynesia proper, now that the general survey of the Polynesian group is complete. Our friend and colleague, Dr. B. S. Guha of the Indian Museum, keeps in touch with the anthropologists of the Bishop Museum and I hope that other Indian scholars and research institutions would exchange their publications with this premier research laboratory of Polynesian anthropology.

CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS OF HONOLULU.

The *Anthropology Club* of Honolulu is a fine organization which meets regularly to discuss fresh problems and it invited me to give them a talk on "Man in India." So I was often requested to discuss

the Sociological problems of India, at the meetings organized by the members of the *Sociology Club* functioning in collaboration with the Department of Sociology of the University, under the able guidance of veteran scholars like Dr. Romanzo Adams and Prof. Felix Keesing. Dr. Adams has recently published an exhaustive study on the "Inter-racial Marriage in Hawaii" (Macmillan & Co., 1937) and he is deeply interested in the ethnic problems of India. Dr. Keesing is an indefatigable worker in the field of Pacific studies. He explored, with his talented wife, also a qualified sociologist, the primitive zones of the Philippine islands publishing a book and many articles and monographs of outstanding merit. He also piloted the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference (1936) where he met Dr. Kodanda Rao of the Servant of India Society and helped him in disseminating correct information about the educational life of India. The *Report* of the Conference carefully edited by Dr. Keesing and published by the Institute of Pacific Relations, would be of great interest to the educationists of India.

Two other associations of major importance—the *Pan-Pacific Union* and the *Institute of Pacific Relations*,—welcomed me to participate in their proceedings. India came to have her legitimate representation in the Pan-Pacific Union when I had the honor of being invited to serve as one of its Honorary Trustees. Through Mr. Charles F. Loomis, Secretary to the Institute of Pacific Relations, I was introduced to the members of the various groups of this remarkable organization. In view of the projected "East and West Congress of Philosophy" to be invited to Honolulu, I was requested to participate in a symposium on "the Eastern and Western Thought" led by Prof. Dr. Charles Moore of the University of Hawaii and sponsored by the Institute of Pacific Relations under the presidency of Dr. A. L. Dean, a former President of the University. I have already drawn the attention of my countrymen to these two progressive institutions of the Pacific (*vide Hindustan Standard*, October 10, 1937) and I hope that their journals and publications will be consulted by the scholars and publicists of India. Few can argue with impunity today that the Pacific and the Indian oceans are but very remotely connected, for India is fast being drawn into the vortex of the Pacific problems.

MODERNISM IN LAND LEGISLATION

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

Permanent Settlement Enclosure Movement.

THE beginnings of modern capitalism in India are to be traced to the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in 1793. For, if we exclude the political and administrative features associated with it, the system was essentially an instrument in the concentration of landed estates in a relatively few hands. This implied nothing but the establishment of large-scale capitalism in agrarian enterprises.

Large-scale zamindaries or *latifondi* as generally known in Europe were considered in those days to be economically most worthwhile propositions in the mentality of British statesmen. England had got used to the eviction of small tenants, the extinction of the yeomanry and the aggrandisement of the big few as normal features of the socio-economic order. The enclosure movements of economic Britain since the sixteenth century could not fail to foster the tradition of large estates as being the sources of prosperity, although with buts and ifs, to the British people. It was the sociological milieu of these enclosures consummated in England with the utmost enthusiasm towards the end of the eighteenth century that, in addition to the local Indian socio-economic circumstances furnished the intellectual background of the British legislators responsible for the Permanent Settlement in India.

The social motives and economic origins of the British enclosures are by no means identical with those of the Indian Permanent Settlement. But in certain economic consequences, for example, the evolution of big-scale zamindari capitalism it is possible to establish an equation between the enclosure movement of England and the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. Historically, at any rate, it was at the peak of the enclosure legislation in England that the Permanent Settlement was enacted in India.

After this it took Europe nearly a century to look for new principles in land-legislation. The sociology of large-scale landed capitalism gradually gave place to that of small holdings, family farms, etc. Positive law was ultimately established on novel foundations. It was towards the nineties of the nineteenth century that Bismarck became

the architect of a new world by initiating the principles of land-legislation adapted to modern requirements. Those principles of Bismarck are the leading ideas in the land-reform of every country in the modern world since c. 1890.

THE FARMER-TENANT OF TODAY

It is to be observed that neither economically nor juridically has the agrarian system of India been nailed down to the *status quo* of the Permanent Settlement. Social mobility is manifest no less in economic India than in the Western economy. The rights or privileges of the large landowners and landholders were curtailed by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1886 and perhaps in the same proportion the tenant (*ryot*) rose as a socio-legal person. This relative ascendancy of the *krishak-praja* (farmer-tenant) in the enjoyment of economic freedom has gone on increasing ever since. In the eye of law the cultivator of today is not identical with the cultivator of the middle of the nineteenth century, nor of course of the end of the eighteenth. The status of the small man in the land-system *vis-à-vis* the upper ten thousand is unquestionably quite decent at the present moment.

On the other hand, the economic bearings of the Permanent Settlement on the zamindars have undergone a tremendous transformation on account of the sheer impact of generations. The commercial revolution engendered in economic India on account of contacts with the world-economy since the American and the Napoleonic Wars (1776-1815) of the British Empire has led to the creation of new forms of wealth and the transference of wealth from older to newer families and classes. The transformations and transferences of wealth have been promoted further in India on account of the industrial transition facilitated by new technocracy since the middle of the last century. The landed estates have, therefore, changed hands and moved into the pockets of the *nouveaux riches* as a result of purchases with cash. The alleged "permanent" proprietors of yore have very often been replaced by the "upstarts" of the day. The "permanency" of the Permanent Settlement refers factually, therefore, not to the proprietors but to the property. The zamindars of today have among them very few who may be regarded as having any blood-contacts with the beneficiaries of the Act of 1793. So far as the family or class composition is concerned, the landholders of the present generation

are, like the proprietors in other concerns, industrial and commercial, enjoying their properties in most instances on account of the capital invested by themselves or by their immediate predecessors in the acquisition or enlargement of landed estates. The persistence of the category, "permanent settlement," must not blind the student of economic realities to the processes of family, class or social revolution that has been going on through generations. The disappearance of old families and classes in India and their substitution by new is as great an embodiment of the "circulation of elites" as the disappearance of the old individuals and their replacement by new in the race-histories of East and West.

Transformations and revolutions, then, have affected both the land-holders and the tenants of the Permanent Settlement category as of the other agrarian categories in India. It is in the atmosphere of these socio-economic and socio-legal revolutions that the social metabolism of revolutionary land-legislation as prominent in contemporary Europe is likely to be regarded as worth adapting or assimilating by Indian legislators and economists.

BRITISH SMALL HOLDINGS

According to Professor Macgregor in *Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation* (London 1924) there is no evidence to show that small holders are either more or less "efficient and productive" than large farmers. The support of the "small holdings" policy in England is therefore being dictated by other than economic motives.

There are considerations of national defence. Then there is the question of public health. The desirability of keeping as many families as possible down to their farms or the village and preventing the "rural exodus" is also always before the eyes of the theorists and legislators. And last but not least, there operates the expediency of raising landless labourers or other agricultural working men to the status of landed proprietors, a ground on which it is admitted that an "effective small holdings policy is a matter of social justice."

The movement in favour of the creation and multiplication of small holdings embodies, in the first place, the attempts of a people to redistribute the lands that *status quo* sanctifies as the foundations of law and order. In the second place, there is implicit in it the right of the state, nation or community to dictate the size of estates that a landholder is entitled to own or control.

Finally, one notices in these legislative tendencies the formal establishment of state-landlordism or land-nationalisation in a partial or complete manner. Small Holdings Acts, therefore, are essentially communistic and Bolshevistic in spirit and form,—although no doubt in each instance the expropriations are accomplished with more or less adequate indemnity.

And yet economic legislation of this character cannot be described as due to the impact of the Sovietic-Russian theory and practice of November, 1917. Rather, historically speaking, one should describe the New Russia's experiments in governmental land-owning or land-control as but the last and extremist stages in an evolution through which Europe had been passing during the previous generation. This is but another way of saying that the trend of land legislation in European countries has been more and more in the direction of what is today associated with dangerous Russia.

In England the Small Holdings Act was passed in 1908. Down to 1914 the British government spent £5,250,000 in order to establish 14,000 new small holders.

Denmark had preceded England in this legislation. There the Act was passed in 1899. The state advanced about £3,000,000 down to 1922, and 9,860 small holdings were created. The laws of October 1919, have but carried the movement farther.

BISMARCKIAN LAND LEGISLATION

Still older is the legislation in Germany. The *Rentengutsgesetzgebung* or Rentland-legislation of 1890 and 1891 marks an epoch in the land-reform, agricultural reconstruction and rural reorganisation in Europe. By 1914 the German government spent M. 12,000,000 and succeeded in establishing 20,000 colonists. The movement got a tremendous fillip under the law of 1919.

In this connection it is interesting to observe, *en passant*, that some of the most vital socio-economic legislation of contemporary Europe has arisen in Germany. The *Landschaft* is an old credit union of Prussia designed (1770) to issue land bonds on the estates mortgaged in its favour. It has furnished example and precept to the large and petty Zamindars of the Baltic states, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Hungary, Russia and U.S.A.

The *Raiffeisensche Darlehenskasse* (Raiffeisen system of co-operative credit) is another item which the agriculturists of the world owe to German talent and legislation. Although the movement goes back to the fifties, the world has begun to take note of it since 1895 when the Prussian Central Co-operative State Bank was founded by the government.

Then there is the legislation on social insurance, which enacted between 1883 and 1889 has now become almost a universal stock in trade reform movement in every progressive country.

To come back to the *Rentengut* laws. It has to be remembered that, as one understands from H. Gerdes' *Geschichte des deutschen Beuernstandes* (History of the German Peasant Class) or Haepke's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Economic History) that the nineteenth century began in Germanic states with an "enslaved peasant" and a predominant *Zamindar* class. It was under the inspiration of the French revolution and philosophical liberalism preached by Kant and Fichte that the *Bauernbefreiung* (emancipation of the peasants) movement was initiated. The legislation set on foot by Stein and Hardenberg between 1807 and 1812, although well-meant, did not succeed in accomplishing much in order to improve the economic lot of the cultivators. The interests of the *Zamindars* were kept intact.

The peasants were now, however, free as "political" and "legal" persons. There were improvements in other directions. In 1821, an Act was passed by which on the petition of village people *Gemeinheitsteilung*, i.e., the partition of communal lands could take place. This reform has enabled the peasants each to have his holding in one connected plot. The consolidation of cultivable and cultivated areas under single and undivided authority was thus assured.

In order to provide for the undivided inheritance of land, thus consolidated into single plots, a special legislation has been carried out so late as 1882. It is called *Anerbenrecht* (law of succession according to selected heirs). This as well as the previous measures may be described as falling within the category of *Bauernschutz* (protection of the peasants).

The "protection of peasants" on these lines did not involve much interference with the "vested interests." But by 1850 it had been found out that there were about 400,000 "emancipated" peasants to whom agriculture appeared hardly "paying" since their holdings were too small. The "new industries" of the day proved also to be more

attractive for these more or less landless labourers than farm-work. It was under the conditions of this "industrialization" or competition between factory and farm that the Prussian *Zamindars* began to feel the want of adequate working men for their estates (c. 1870).

The German government had to face the problem of having enough cultivators for the country. It was resolved to increase the peasant element in the rural centres by *Ansiedlungspolitik*, a systematic policy of *Innere Kolonisation* (internal colonizing or land settlement) described in Professor Sering's book on the subject (Leipzig, 1893). Thus originated the laws of 1890-91.

The peasants were not willing to take the lands or live in the villages unless they were by law enabled to feel that they were "owners" of the plots which they cultivated. Mere tenancy had no charm for them. The legislation gave them what they wanted by breaking up the large estates.

ZAMINDARS PAID OFF BY RENTBANKS

The government *Rentbanks* came to the help of the peasants, bought from the *Zamindars* the plots desired by their clients, provided them with loans for farms and buildings under the most favourable conditions and took upon themselves the responsibility of paying off the *Zamindars* with small doses of annuity in course of time. In order to prevent partition the *Anerbenrecht* has been enforced on these new peasant proprietors.

The legislation did not arise out of sheer philanthropy for the peasant class. Nor was it dictated out of enmity to the Junkers, the landowning aristocracy. But all the same, by the fiat of the state a "redistribution of property" has taken place. And it would be sheer camouflage to describe the process as an ordinary "transfer of property" such as the usual Roman law understands it.

The laws have deprived the original land-owners of much of their freedom both as regards the transfer as well as the indemnity. On the other hand the new peasant owners also are not privileged to sell or divide the property at their own sweet will. The *Renten-guts-gesetzgebung* of 1890-91 is really the first of its kind in modern times to have restricted the right of the individual in regard to real estate in favour of the nation.

From the German achievements of 1890-91 realised as they were in the epoch of Bismarckian absolutism, it is indeed a tremendous jump to the proletarian ideal of restrictions to property as embodied in the Leninism of 1917. But even in Germany how far the people are prepared to go has been evident from the law of August, 1919, which, however, perhaps to a certain extent, is to be read in the light of the previous and simultaneous happening in Russia.

In the first place, post-war Germany abolished in its entirety the system of *Fideikommiss*. There had been a tendency among the members of the new moneyed classes, the "industrial magnates" (c. 1870), to found country-estates and keep large areas in the control of their families. This was rendered impossible under the constitution of 1919.

A far-reaching law was passed the same day, August 11, on which the post-war constitution of Germany was issued. Under its provisions, in certain districts owner of more than 290 acres are compelled to group themselves in *Landlieferungsverbaenden* or "land transfer-unions" and to sell one-third of the cultivated area to certain government-recognized public bodies. These public bodies were accorded the right not only of "pre-emption" but also of "expropriation." Only those who possess less than 290 acres are not to be touched. In *Agrarwesen und Agrarpolitik*, were "Agriculture and Agricultural Policy" (Leipzig, 1920) by Professor Wygodzinsky this law is described as embodying the *Magna Charta* of land settlement.

Such is the history of small holdings, associated as they are with various names *Ansiedlung* (colonising), *Rentengut* (rent-land) or the like that has been a constant example to Denmark and that is today inspiring the promoters of land reform in Great Britain. Germany's progress in this direction under the Hitler regime (since 1933) need not be referred to in the present instance.

THE FAMILY-FARM

It is difficult exactly to define a small holding. In Denmark, the latest official experts have fixed upon 44 bighas as the minimum size. In England the standard was up till now 175 bighas. There is a tendency to raise the unit by about 25 to 30 per cent. In Germany, the holdings created by the laws of 1890-91 and 1919 have an average area of 119 bighas. In each instance the unit is considered to be

small enough to be adequately cultivated by one farmer with the help of his family (and as a rule without hired labour) and at the same time large enough to maintain the family on a reasonable level of material prosperity and "mental satisfaction." The family is generally taken as a five-mouth aggregate (3 bighas = 1 acre).

It is well known to students of comparative industrialism that Czechoslovakia was born like a Minerva, as it were, fully equipped with the paraphernalia of modern industry and commerce as well as technocracy and business organisation. As a small state, it may be considered to be another Switzerland or Belgium, so to say, so far as factories and workshops are concerned.

The modernism or uptodatism of Czechoslovakia is to be found in land reform also. The state commenced its career in this regard by introducing overnight the principles of land-redistribution, land-transfer, land-exchange, land-restriction and land control such as had been in operation in Central Europe and England since the last decade of the nineteenth century. As India continues still to be in the middle of the nineteenth century in some of these respects the story of Czechoslovakian land-reform should appear to be of great value to her economic statesmen. The subject has been dealt with at length another context.*

* B. K. Sarkar, "Land Reform in Czechoslovakia" (*Calcutta Review*, June, 1937).

A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE RECORD ROOMS OF INDIA

PROFESSOR SURENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., PH.D.,
Calcutta University.

PRESERVATION is the archivist's first and foremost concern. It is an axiom of archives-keeping about which there is no difference of opinion. Hence follows the corollary that indiscriminate admission into record-rooms must not be demanded. So far, the student of history is at one with the record-keeper. But there is a widespread feeling among responsible research scholars in this country that caution may go too far. If old records had been preserved for administrative purposes alone, most of the seventeenth and eighteenth century papers might have been safely consigned to fire. Even papers of more recent origin could be thrown away without any inconvenience to the government concerned. To cite only one instance, in a district record room of Bengal there is a large number of hasty notes, sometimes in pencil, jotted down by the District Officer of the day, when the indigo troubles were at their height. To the students of history these notes are invaluable, to the district administration they are absolutely useless, for indigo and indigo planters are as extinct to-day as the gigantic reptiles of a bygone geological age. The Record Keeper may not, therefore, treat the curiosity of the historian with undue suspicion, he may indeed find a useful ally and collaborator in that prying specimen of humanity. In these days of financial stringency and retrenchment when popular ministers are reluctant to add to the expenses of uneconomic departments, the Record Keeper may very well enlist the services of research students, to whom the privilege of examining the archives is granted, for indexing, transcribing and cataloguing the records in which they are interested. Such co-operation will be of mutual benefit to both the parties.

The time has come when some of the existing rules may be conveniently relaxed. I do not for a moment suggest anything that may in any way affect the safety of the archives, but is it quite impossible to bring the provincial record rooms in line with the record room of

the India Office or the Public Record Office of London ? In India all records are divided into two categories irrespective of their age and antiquity, and undue stress is given on their subject-matter. All papers are designated either as "public," or "political and private." No difficulty is ordinarily raised about the examination and transcription of the archives of the first category, but permission is not so readily granted about the scrutiny of records that fall under the designation "political and private." In the India Office, however, all bona-fide students are permitted to examine all 17th century records irrespective of their subject-matter, and one may take notes or transcribe the papers without any official supervision or scrutiny. Cheap and reliable typed copies are also available. Permission to examine eighteenth century records is not so freely granted. But once the necessary leave is obtained the student encounters no further difficulty about notes and transcription. I speak from personal experience. Similar practice prevails in the National and Colonial Archives of Paris and the *Arquivo Ultramarino* of Lisbon. The Public Record Office of London is more liberal in this respect and every paper, which is a century old, is deemed a legitimate object of the historian's curiosity. After all, these records are raw materials of history.

Is it impossible to pursue a similar policy with respect to records in India ? Does it matter much if it is discovered that a public servant of eminence, long deceased, committed an indiscretion one century or two centuries ago ? A responsible public man once told me that the Peshwa *Daftar* of Poona could not be thrown open to the research scholar because his industry may one day reveal some records that may help to revive some inconvenient claims rejected, rightly or wrongly, by the Inam Commission. I believe most people will recognise that this objection is not frivolous but at the same time it should not be ignored that this difficulty is not insuperable, and the problem may be easily solved by passing an Indemnity Act.

It is sometimes argued that when exhaustive selections are available to the public, no legitimate grievance can be made, if access to the archives is either wholly denied or strictly restricted. Distinction should be made between restriction and refusal. Admission must be regulated according to the available space of the reading room, free access to the stocking room must also be denied, but at the same time, it should be conceded that no selection, however exhaustive, can altogether preclude the necessity of a fresh examination of the published

records and a scrutiny of the papers deemed unworthy of publication. The point needs no elaboration, for, every member of the Historical Records Commission knows from his personal experience that selections and descriptive catalogues cannot always serve our purpose, as different students may approach the same problem from different angles of vision.

Exhaustive catalogues of District Record Rooms would be a great help to the growing number of research students who do not exactly know where to seek the information they need. Some of the Provincial Record Rooms have excellent guides and catalogues, but the District Record Rooms are still more or less neglected, specially because untrained ministerial officers are usually in charge of them.

The cause of historical investigation in India would undoubtedly be furthered, if the Imperial and Provincial Record Rooms could see their way to supply rotograph copies of their archives at a reasonable rate on application from genuine investigators. A rotograph machine is not very expensive, and the capital invested in it will be realised with profit, once the research student is notified of the new arrangement. As it is, even when the Record Keeper is prepared to supply transcriptions of a particular archive, practical difficulty may stand in his way, and the applicant may have to go disappointed. There are some Dutch Records at Calcutta. They were originally in the District Record Room of Hooghly and they relate mostly to the Dutch factory of Chinsurah. Of more interest are the Dutch records preserved in the Madras Record Room of which a descriptive list is available in print. Few people from Lahore or Calcutta can find the time to travel to Madras on the off chance of a Dutch letter throwing some light on the subject of his particular investigation. But Dutch-knowing scribes are not easily available at Madras. The Keeper of the Madras Record Room may not, therefore, be able to supply the Lahore or Calcutta student with transcriptions of specified records in spite of all the willingness in the world. A machine will be of immense use where man is helpless. Again, a rotograph copy is always more reliable than a transcription, however careful. A man may unconsciously lapse into his accustomed spelling but a machine will unerringly reproduce the original. This is no small gain to the conscientious investigator, for sometimes a single alphabet may go a long way in the identification of a historical personage.

Historians must always rely on the archivist for their raw material, and the progress of historical studies in India depends, to a great extent, upon their co-operation. There is a widespread feeling that an Indian student finds more facilities in the record rooms of England and France than in his own country. The time has come when this grievance, if well founded, should be remedied.



POPULAR EDUCATION AND ITS CONTROL BY THE STATE IN ENGLAND.

SAILENDRA NATH SEN, M.SC. (CAL.), M.A. (LEEDS)

Rajshahi College.

(1)

THE Industrial revolution of eighteenth and nineteenth century in England gave a tremendous blow on the social structure of that country. Due to this social change educational reform was necessary. But in the earlier part of the last century education in England was purely a voluntary enterprise. Joseph Lancaster, a man from a poor family, was the pioneer in introducing the monitorial system of education for the poor in the beginning of the last century. His success brought the attention and sympathy of a good many influential men of that time who, in 1808, formed a society called the British and Foreign School Society to impart some Elementary Education to the poor children of that country. The members of this society were non-conformists and the church people could not tolerate their enthusiasm in educational matters ; they formed a rival party called " National Society " in 1811. These two societies worked for two decades purely on voluntary subscriptions from sympathetic and well-to-do people. It is very difficult to give an exact account of the growth of the number of schools and the scholars during this period. The national society reported in 1834 that by 1831 there were 10,965 church schools in existence and 900,000 children attending them. Of course the average length of school life at that time was only four years.¹

But in considering the child population at that time, this number of school-going children was very poor. The prominent people at that time made an agitation to improve and expand the popular education but nothing could be done until the thirties of the century when the constitution of the country was reformed. The only thing the reformers could do for education was to sanction a parliamentary grant in 1833 and onward for the purpose of building schools. The money must be distributed through the above societies and the local

¹ A History of English Elementary Education, F. Smith, p. 133.

subscriptions must be raised, at least half the estimated cost before a grant could be given. This was the first time that the state came forward in granting money in the cause of education. The state gave but she had no control over those institutions. The grant money never demanded any inspection over the nature and system of education until 1839, when the Government set up a committee of the Privy Council to superintend their allocation. 'To superintend their allocation' is not only to audit and check the accounts but also to see, as every Government is duty bound to do, if the children get the best possible guidance and environment. In order to do that the state carved out a policy for the education of her children. But before she can enforce her policy she must prepare the minds of the people to accept those principles. Dr. Kay (afterwards Sir Kay-Shuttleworth), who was the first secretary of the committee of council, found it an extremely difficult task in fusing the new ideas in educational matters by creating an Inspectorate staff and by starting a model training college at Battersea. The church people were furious at the idea of their schools being inspected. It was, however, amicably settled between the church and the state that Archbishops should nominate persons as Inspectors of church schools and their concurrence was necessary for each appointment by the state. The religious teachings were wholly in the hands of these church people, but so far as secular instructions were concerned, the state retained its control.

The example of Battersea brought a new impulse to the church people also, who established as many as twenty-two Training Colleges throughout England and Wales. The untiring zeal of Dr. Kay for about two decades gave a totally new conception of popular education, but his idea of introducing a Bill proposing the creation of new factory schools, to be maintained by rates, thereby bringing forward a national system of education was perhaps too early. The organised efforts of the Nonconformists against the Bill led the Government to withdraw it in 1843. But this failure, gave an impetus to the Nonconformists—a fresh body of educationists, who called themselves 'Voluntarists,' in organisation and further expansion of education.

Any new advancement in education by the state was rather impossible under the Tory Government of Peel, and in 1846 when once more Whig ministry was formed, Kay-Shuttleworth put forward his

new scheme chiefly to make the teaching profession popular and more attractive. The Minute of 1846 offered grants to apprenticed pupils as well as to teachers who instructed them, together with retiring pensions to teachers, and annual grants to teachers under certain conditions. Also the schools of Industry were offered grants for school field-gardens, workshops and school kitchens and wash-houses. In 1846 grant rapidly grew to £100,000 and by 1858 it rose to £800,000. This was the first time in 1846, that the state took a liberal view in granting money towards the improvement of the status and conditions of the teachers as well as the furniture and appliances of the schools although the management and authority still remained in the hands of the voluntary people.

But all these new changes were not given sufficient time to be worked out. When Mr. Lowe took the office of the Vice-President in 1858 all those grants, pupil teachers' stipends, scholars' capitation grants, teachers' pensions, grants for school books, maps, etc., were swept away by the code of 1861 and a new system of payment by result was introduced. An examination on a fee of Rs. 3 must be held and, other things being equal, one third of the sum claimable on attendance was to be forfeited for failure in each of the three subjects, reading, writing and arithmetic.

(2)

The revised code of 1861 gave a tremendous blow to the progress of education. The work of the schools was lowered down and the withdrawal of pupil teachers' stipends caused a serious fall in the number of pupil teachers. The number of scholars per teacher rose from 37·7 in 1860 to 40·9 in 1870. There was much agitation from all quarters but nothing could be done until the Liberals were returned to power in 1868, when the education department was entrusted to W. E. Forster, the stalwart Radical and a great enthusiast for popular education.

Forster, the father of the dual system of education, brought his Bill for the so-called "compulsory education" and after much controversy and debate it was enacted. By this Act of 1870, the country was to be divided into districts, the educational condition of each was to be ascertained, and where Elementary education was found "to be sufficiently efficient and suitable" there would be no interference. But

a District where deficiency was proved, a time not exceeding six months was to be allowed to the voluntary institutions to supply the needs. If, however, voluntary effort proved insufficient, a school Board was to be elected for the District, whose duty would be either to provide new schools from rate aid, or to help existing schools. A timetable conscience clause was to be enforced on all grant-receiving schools, so that a child could be withdrawn from religious instructions either at the beginning or at the end of the day.

Thus the Act of 1870 created other schools than the voluntary ones, which were built by school Boards from money coming from the rates. Subsequent Acts have not disturbed this dualism and there exist side by side in the same area, and often in the same village, schools whose buildings are publicly owned and schools whose buildings are in others' hands.¹

It cannot be denied that this Act of 1870 gave an impetus in the creation of a new sentiment in favour of education amongst the general public. The parents were slowly coming to appreciate the value and importance of education and were not reluctant to allow their children to obtain the benefit that was offered. The people had accepted compulsion with surprisingly good grace in short but quick steps. It will be seen that means of education was continually being extended at an increasing rate as the number of schools increased from 18,000 in 1881 to 19,500 in 1891 and 20,000 in 1900. The registered scholars on the same dates were about four millions, four and three quarter of a million and five and three quarter of a million, and the percentage of average attendance rose from 71 to 78 and then to 82.

(3)

Notwithstanding all these improvements in education an all-round discontent was growing against this dual system of education. Although Forster, in spite of being an important member of the Radical Party did not act against the popular views and although he gave the voluntarists a good chance of maintaining competition with the School Boards, this dual system seemed to be a failure at the end of the century. The voluntarists could not make elementary education

¹ A History of Elementary Education in England, F. Smith, p. 313.

“sufficient, efficient and suitable” and the Board schools were rapidly being increased. The principal reason underlying this fact was that the Board schools were financially stronger than the voluntary ones as the former could get the local rates. The average income per scholar in attendance of the Board schools from rates were 16s. 4½d. in 1886, 18s. 11d. in 1891, and £1. 1s. 1d. in 1896. Also the combined income of Board schools per scholar in average attendance from rates and endowment was 17s. 0¼d. in 1881, 18s. 4¾d. in 1886, 18s. 11½d. in 1891 and £1. 1s. 2¼d. in 1896 ; whereas the income of voluntary schools from endowment and contribution per scholar in average attendance was 8s. 6¼d. in 1881, 8s. 1¾d. in 1886, 8s. 3¼d. in 1891 and 7s. 11¾d. in 1896.¹ Also the voluntary schools could not earn the same amount of grant as the Board schools. The annual grant per scholar in average attendance for Board schools rose from 13s. 0¾d. in 1876 to 19s. 7½d. in 1896 and for voluntary schools 13s. 3¾d. to 18s. 7¾d.² This meagre finance of the voluntary schools did not help them to thrive and consequently they could not appoint as great a proportion of certified teachers as the Board schools. The certified teachers appointed by voluntary schools were 19,287 in 1876 ; 23,350 in 1881 ; 25,994 in 1880 ; 27,261 in 1891; and 27,911 in 1896 whereas those appointed by Board schools were 3,766 in 1876 ; 10,212 in 1881 ; 16,218 in 1886 ; 20,562 in 1891 and 28,801 in 1896. The number of scholars in average attendance in voluntary schools on those years were 1,656,502 ; 2,007,184 ; 2,198,358 ; 2,258,385 and 2,465,919 ; also the number of scholars in Board schools in those years were 328,071 ; 856,351 ; 1,272,151 ; 1,491,571 and 1,956,992.³ Hence simple calculation shows that the voluntary school could afford to appoint one certified teacher for every 85·9 scholars in 1876 ; 85·9 in 1881 ; 84·5 in 1886 ; 82·8 in 1891 and 88·3 in 1896 whereas the Board schools appointed one certified teacher for every 87·1 scholars in 1876 ; 83·8 in 1881 ; 78·4 in 1886 ; 72·5 in 1891 and 67·0 in 1896. The voluntary schools were not only compelled to employ unqualified teachers, but they had to pay smaller salaries and to purchase less equipment than the Board schools.⁴ All these better amenities and comforts were possible for Board schools as they had a stable and strong financial footing from rates and there is no wonder that the voluntarists would be jealous of the Board schools because of

¹ Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 896-97 p. lxxvii.

² “ ” “ ” “ ” “ ” “ ” 1896-97 and 1891-92.

³ “ ” “ ” “ ” “ ” “ ” “ ” 1896-97, lxxvii.

⁴ Report of the Committee of Council, p. lxxvii

their rate help. They protested that in order to put the buildings into repair, to add class rooms and cloak rooms and to bring the sanitation upto more modern standard, they must have more financial assistance from the state.¹ Also, "they urged that there should be no limits on the grants to schools, that there should be a greater control over the spending powers of the school Boards, that the teachers and scholars of voluntary schools might share of such educational advantages as Board schools were able to provide out of public funds."

Rate aid was not the only cause of discontent in the voluntary schools. The more advanced instruction, which some of the Board schools were forward enough to impart to their older pupils, were not linked by the promoters of the voluntary schools. The older scholars earned grants from the Science and Arts Departments. The Board schools were granted by the Science and Arts Department 1*d.* in 1900 and $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* in 1902 per scholar whereas the voluntary schools could get only $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* in 1900 and nothing afterwards. The Higher Elementary schools which thrived under the auspices of School Boards, did not receive any recognition from the higher authority until the introduction of the Elementary School Code in 1900. According to this they were to provide a four years' course of instruction, admitting those scholars only who had attended an Elementary school for at least two years and who were certified by an Inspector to be qualified to profit by the instruction. The upward age of attendance was put at the end of the school year during which the pupil reached the age of fifteen. The schools were to get grants on average attendance namely 25*s.* to 27*s.* in the first year to 55*s.* to 65*s.* in the fourth year. Also, for adequate practical instruction, a grant from 6*s.* or 8*s.* in the first year to 18*s.* or 25*s.* in the fourth year was offered. During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century the school Boards created 28 higher Elementary schools and by 1902, added one more to them whereas the voluntary managers could provide only one during these years. Twenty-five of them including the voluntary schools were inspected and received grants during 1901-02.²

(4)

The school Boards which did not gain the public sympathy and esteem were looked down on by the defenders of the voluntary schools

¹ Elementary Education, Gregory (Appendix).

² History of English Elementary Education, F. Smith, p. 342.

with jealousy and suspicion. The rural Boards were too small and too petty for their task and the large Boards were blamed for their extravagance and their hospitality to the denominational school. The Board Schools availed themselves freely of the power of borrowing on the security of the rates, given by the Acts of 1870, 1873, 1876 and 1893. The loans sanctioned by the Department in 1890-91 was £1,033,905-4-8, in 1895-96, £2,213,436-12-5 and in 1899-1900, £2,336,378-18-6.¹ The rates were levied by them but collected by other bodies. The County and County Borough Councils already had educational duties to carry out by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 which authorised them to provide technical and manual instruction except in Elementary schools ; also the Local Taxation Act in 1890 allotted the Whisky money to these councils for the provision of Secondary and Technical education. Public opinion was turning in favour of these new authorities, and against the school Boards.² It will be seen that the Bryce Commission (1894-95) did not think these Boards as proper authorities to be entrusted with any sort of higher education than the elementary one. Their recommendation was that the Higher Elementary Schools as well as science schools should be treated as Secondary ones and the school Boards have no control over them as those schools served only the purpose of " third grade secondary schools " in the hands of the Board.

There had been a suspicion among the general public that the new Board schools were created on the model of the British Schools and had no authority to teach any religious principles. And these newly formed Boards instead of helping the voluntary schools were willing to put an end to them. " The Non-Conformists did all in their power to destroy voluntary schools and to force school Boards upon the country by closing their schools and in other ways."³ During the debate of 1876, Mr. Hubbard said, " Either the Birmingham League or the Liberation Society issued a strong recommendation to the effect wherever the British and Foreign Schools Society had an opportunity of making a deficiency in the school accommodation of a parish they should close their schools, so that Board schools might be there

¹ Report of the Board of Education, 1909, I. 36-37 and 1902-3, pp. 33-34;

Report of the Board of Education, 1899-1900. Vol. III pp. 751-793.

Report of the Board of Education, 1902-03. p. 46.

² Report of the Board of Education, 1900 I. p. 33.

³ Elementary Education, Gregory, p. 152.

established, and did so. But in some cases where the proceeding had not the effect of closing the denominational schools, they came again to the Department and asked to be allowed to re-open their schools on the same terms as before. "National Education Report, p. 149).²

(5)

The condition and circumstances of popular education during the last decade was thoroughly studied by Cross Commission in 1888 who submitted an excellent report comprising the situation and recommendation of proper reorganisation of the system and method of education at that time. The majority of the Commission recommended that the County councils should be empowered to aid voluntary schools by an amount equal to the subscriptions, up to a maximum of ten shillings per child in average attendance. The reason they put forward was that the cost and the standard of instruction were increased during the last two decades since 1870, that there were multiplication of subjects and that there was more expensive demands of building and sanitation. So, owing to the greater cost of education the payment of school fees was becoming a burden on the poorer people, and in lieu of fees or school pence the Government, by the Act of 1891 made a grant of 10s. per child to all school or voluntary Board, subject to certain conditions as to the provision of free education, etc.³

The church also did not remain silent. They became conscious of their unfavourable position and they made a vigorous movement in gaining their grounds. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York called a conference and it was decided there that the state should be asked to bear the whole expense of teaching staff of the church schools and in 1895 a Bill was drafted on this proposal. But subsequent consideration led them to withdraw the Bill and at a second conference a memorial for presentation to the Government was drafted. The purport of the appeal was that 'any educational legislation should maintain the religious character by preserving the voluntary schools ; it should safeguard the right of parents to determine the character of such religious instruction no matter what kind of school the child attended ; it should refrain from penalising any school by

¹ The Educational Question, Thompson, p. 11.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ Educational Questions, p. 35 (Thompson).

reason of the religious opinions professed by the teachers or scholars ; and lastly it should recognise the educational value of variety of type and management of schools. They urged that there should be no limits on the grants to schools that there should be an increase and rearrangement of grants so as to help the poorer schools that there should be a greater control over the spending powers of the school Boards that the teachers and scholars of voluntary schools might share of such educational advantages as school boards were able to provide out of public funds.

The Government, however, brought in a Bill in 1896 closely following the above suggestions. It tried to unify the system of education and proposed to make the county council the chief education authority, controlling elementary, technical and secondary schools. The 17s. 5d. limit was to be abolished, and an additional grant of 4s. to be paid by the state on behalf of each child in a voluntary school or a "necessitous" Board school. The county council was to appoint an education committee "to supplement and not supplant such existing organisation for educational purposes as for the time being supplied efficient instructions." The rating power of school Boards was to be limited to a total amount of 20s. per child, and the managers of both Board and voluntary schools were to "permit reasonable number of the scholars attending the school required it." The conservatives themselves being divided on the question of rate aid to the voluntary schools, the Bill was opposed and had to be withdrawn.¹ The attempt to establish a national system of education was a bit too early but these facts leave a sufficient indication that a view in favour of a unified system of education was being slowly created.

In 1897, the voluntary school Bill was however passed which abolished the 17s. 6d. limit on grants, freed the school buildings from rates and provided an aid-grant of 5s. per scholar, to be paid through an association of voluntary schools. But this arrangement which could only be regarded as temporary, did not satisfy the Church. The cost of education was still rising and the Board schools had already financial advantage behind them. So opinion was moving steadily towards the demand that the cost of maintenance of the voluntary schools should be met by public funds, either national or local.²

¹ History of Elementary Education, F. Smith, pp. 341-343.

² Elementary Education, Gregory, pp. 211-213.

That a reform in educational administration was a paramount necessity, was admitted by Hon. E. Lymph Stanley in 1899, who played an important part in the administration of London School Board: "we are constantly brought face to face with the same problem, that education is one, and must be dealt with as a whole; and that it is with the increasing civilisation of the whole nation that our systematic and collective recognition of what is worthy intellectual training for life will grow and develop."¹ His idea was that there should be only one authority in each area not smaller than the county or the county borough for imparting primary, secondary and technical education; and the rural areas as subordinate authorities must be trusted with primary education alone.

The Government, however, appreciated the idea that the constitution of a single coherent central Education authority was the most necessary preliminary to the constitution of any satisfactory local organisation and the creation of competent local authorities. Accordingly, they introduced in 1898 and passed in 1899 a measure consolidating the Education Department and the Science and Arts Department under a Board with its own President, charging the Board "with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales," and providing for the transfer by order in council of any powers of the Charity Commissioners or the Board of Agriculture relating to education.

But the Board of Education Act of 1899 did not help in solving the difficulties arising out of the confusion in local administration. The cumulative forces, *viz.*, the jealousy and class suspicion of voluntary schools and the public resentment against the Board schools, the discontent of the voluntary schools arising out of the extension of the educational provision to older pupils and the rate aid of Board schools and the recognition of the county and county Borough councils as the authorities to provide technical and secondary education brought the dual system of education in a state of limiting equilibrium when the bolt came from the Cockerton judgment which was not only the cause of an end of the School Boards but also brought a new era in unifying the whole system of education in England. The interesting story lies in the fact that in 1900, Mr. Cockerton, the district auditor

¹ History of English Elementary Education, F. Smith, p. 344, quoted from "Our National System."

The Board of Education—Selby Bigg, p. 14.

under the Local Government Board, brought an objection regarding the expenditure of the London School Board upon Science and Arts classes in Day and continuation schools, on the ground that they were not provided for in the Public Elementary school code. The Queen's Bench Division confirmed the auditor's action and the Court of Appeal concurred. The County and County Borough Councils were authorised by a temporary Act in 1901 to empower School Boards to continue for one year those schools that had been carried on without legal sanction, but the doom of the School Board had come.

(6)

In spite of all sorts of opposition against the voluntary schools regarding the rate aid, the Act of 1902 was passed after a vigorous debate in the Parliament.

The first and foremost important part of this Act is the total abolition of the School Boards and the making of the local councils, the authorities for providing those schools which were under the Boards and maintaining both the voluntary and their own schools. By this Act, the councils of all counties and county Boroughs were given the status of Local Education Authorities both in respect of Elementary and higher education. These were called the Part II Authorities. "The Local Education Authorities shall consider the educational needs of their area and take such steps as seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary....." ¹ The distinction between elementary and other forms of education was strongly marked. The Part III Authorities were empowered to impart elementary education alone. These were the Municipal Boroughs with at least 20,000 population. These Part III Authorities must maintain their own elementary schools and build them, if they were required—all from the local rates plus the grants from the Board of Education, but they were not to build nor to maintain secondary schools. "The Local Education Authority shall throughout their area have the powers and duties of a School Board and School Attendance Committee under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1900, and any other Acts including local Acts, and shall also be responsible for and have the control of all

secular instruction in Public Elementary Schools not provided by them, and School Boards and School Attendance Committees shall be abolished.”¹ So, henceforward, the schools which came directly under the Local Education Authorities were called provided and the voluntary schools called non-provided schools. The Non-provided schools must manage their own schools but the Local Education Authorities must have the full control over the secular instructions. In a non-provided school however, “the managers of the school shall carry out any directions of the local education authority as to the secular education to be given in the school, including any directions with respect to the number and educational qualifications of the teachers to be employed for such instructions, and for the dismissal of any teacher on educational grounds.”²

This Act of 1902 brought a new era in the Public Elementary education in England. The whole system of education was unified. The provided as well as non-provided schools would now share the benefits of local rates and Government grants. The local Governments had now full control on secular education given by council schools as well as denominational schools. The local Governments were given freedom to some extent in the matter of educational administration ; but the central Government retained its power to curve out the educational policy. As every Government has some principles in the policy of her education, English Government also now reorganise the whole education department in the light of her own educational policy.

¹ Section 5 of the Act, 1902.

² Paragraph (a), subsection 1 of section 7 of the Act, 1902.

THE MAKING OF LITERATURE

PROFESSOR DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

D. A. V. College, Lahore.

POETS have often spoken of the deep feelings of the heart stirred by casual contacts with men, women, animals and objects of nature. Wordsworth has written, with extreme felicity and beauty, about the emotional intensity of experience wrought in him by the sight of a Highland lass who inspired the immortal poem, 'The Solitary Reaper.' Such experiences, quite often, form the subject-matter of the poetry of Hardy. Travelling by train, he catches a glimpse of a woman on the platform of a small wayside railway station and this momentary experience becomes the subject of a song which is full of deep heart-ache and great longing for something unknown and never to be known. Poems like these give us some idea of the mystery of the human heart of its capacity to be moved by strange, yet apparently trifling things and of its baffling complexity and its strange workings.

Not to speak of poets, even writers of the short story and the novel have sometimes described how casual contacts with men and women become ever memorable experiences. Of course the province of the short story and the novel is generally the effect wrought on man by woman and occasionally the effect of man on woman, but none can deny that if the description of such experiences were taken away from the literature of the world, it would become a very dull and uninteresting thing. Chekhov, that great Russian master of the short story, often describes experiences like this. In the same way, Henry James often gives expression to this kind of experience. In the hands of Chekhov, an experience of this kind is made the vehicle of warm human appeal, while Henry James analyses its subtle psychological implications. Yet what is true of Chekhov and Henry James is still more true of the diarist. The diarist trades on and glorifies these casual experiences. In fact, the diarist is a person who can make much of experiences that are apparently common place and uninteresting and casual. From this point of view, it is quite obvious that the diarist is a person who perpetually notes and tries to record with precision what he notes. In this species, Arnold Bennett is the prince of diarists. No one who reads his journals can fail to get this impression.

Quite early in his career as a writer Arnold Bennett resolved to keep a journal in which he would set down, faithfully and scrupulously, what he saw and heard and did each day of his life. With occasional lapses he kept up this habit with the result that to-day we have three volumes of his journals which give us a fairly faithful record of his day-to-day life, his doings and his imaginings, but more particularly of his doings and observations. Anyone who goes through these journals cannot but fail to be struck with the curiosity and the all-devouring appetite of this man. Nor can one fail to notice the extreme mental alertness and quick responsiveness of this writer. It appears that the range of his interests was wide and that everything he came across and every person he met had its own interest for him. As to a Sherlock Holmes the small unnoticed things of life become clues to deep mysteries, so in his hands the most familiar, commonplace and outworn things become invested with a new beauty. Yet generally he records the impressions which come to the man about town, the lounge, the idler. This does not mean that he did not write as a professional writer, as a popular novelist, as a man of taste, as an acute and penetrating critic and as a lover of good music, good drama and good opera. These things for the present do not concern us. We do not worry, here and now about what he said about Proust or James Joyce, Chekhov or Dostoevsky, about the Cherry Orchard or Frank Harris's Shakespeare, about the operas in Paris or the Wagner festival in London, about living on twenty hours a day or mental efficiency, about furniture or the management of a mammoth hotel, but concern ourselves with those things in search of which he did not go deliberately, but which came to him unsought, as it were. O Henry is said to have remarked that one need not go for adventure to the streets of Baghdad in the days of Harun-Alrashid, but that adventure is waiting round every corner everywhere. Something like this seems to have been the motto of Arnold Bennett. He, of course, does not look for adventure, in the accepted sense of the word, in the course of his walks, during his railway journeys, on his voyages, during his sojourn in France, Italy or other countries, but for worthwhile experience. Yet to be frank, everything is worthwhile in his eyes provided it catches his attention. He writes, "When a youngish horse is just starting out from the stable in the morning, up a hill, with a light trap behind him, he brings his nose down under his neck, so that the line of the head is parallel with the foreleg before it takes a step; his hind feet slip a little perhaps on the stones, and he pulls

bravely. That is a beautiful sight. It was the first thing I saw, going out yesterday morning." When a person comes upon a passage like this, he cannot help marvelling at the minute powers of observation that the writer had as well as his retentive memory. Nor can we withhold our admiration from the man for his accurate rendering of the thing observed. Yet all this is casual experience, experience which one did not expect to have, or to put it in another way, all this is the familiar made interesting, the commonplace rendered beautiful. A scene like this might have been witnessed by thousands and yet none might have cared to note this balance between exertion and grace, this spectacle of gentle, yet powerful overcoming of resistance, this beauty of movement, this sight of fresh strength and untired vigour being harnessed to the needs of the world. To a sentimentalist like Sterne this sight might have appeared to be an instance of human cruelty towards animals and he perhaps might have shed tears over the fact that the youngish horse was made to bear the yoke rather too early. It was human cupidity that was responsible for this enormity. To a Rousseau it might have pointed the moral that man, himself a slave, delights in enslaving animals. He might have said that the animal should be freed, should be let loose in a jungle and should be permitted to wander at will. To another person it might have meant the dominion of man over nature. Still to another it might have brought the vision of a pre-mechanical age, an age of slow movement, of much leisure and somebody might even have made it the text for a homily on the glories of the modern mechanical age. Yet Arnold Bennett does nothing of the kind. To him it is an instance of beauty in movement and he lets it stand at that. It is thus a revelation of the beautiful in the familiar.

At another place in his journal Arnold Bennett records a very simple happening, a happening the like of which is seen many a time. "Davray gave me a new instance of politeness. At some English house a foreigner called (nationality obscure, I forget, something small) wearing what looked like an overcoat. The hostess urged him to take it off, and he appeared in his shirt-sleeves; consternation of the hostess especially as other guests were expected. Presently Lawrence Houseman came in and was advised privately of the situation. Houseman took off his coat, and sat down also in his shirt-sleeves; then complained of the cold, and demanded from his hostess permission to resume his coat; the foreigner followed his example." Here is a simple

occurrence simply, tersely and economically told. There is no attempt on the part of the writer to hold the foreigner up to ridicule, to elaborate the feelings of embarrassment which the hostess felt or to expatiate on the supreme tact of Lawrence Houseman. An imperialist like Kipling might have made a happening like this an occasion for dwelling on the innate superiority of the English to the other races of the world and a stickler for etiquette might have made a plea for having schools of manners all over the world and for having a code of international manners. He lets the anecdote tell its own tale. What he loses by way of explanation, he gains in force and conciseness.

Or take another snapshot of description that Arnold Bennett gives. "As we drove through Battleshoe Park this misty moist morning, Kennerley and Tertina in front, and Sharpe and I cramped and pinched behind, I had a sense of a constantly unrolling panorama of large rounded meadows, studded with immense bare cedars, also of a formal and balanced shape; bulls and sheep, all of fine breed, wandered vaguely about; sometimes a house, often a gate to be opened, and spot gallivanting tirelessly around the trap; in one distant clump of trees, we saw a rook perched on an invisible twig on the top of a high elm; in the mist he seemed enormous, an incredible motionless fowl; at length he stretched his wings slowly, sank gently forward, and beat heavily away with the distance. Everything was a vague green and dark grey in the fog—everything except the red hips and the staring white of Spot's coat. On the way home we called for a dead snipe that had been given to us; the first snipe I had ever seen; I was naively astonished at its small proportions and the impossible length of its thin bill." Now there is nothing in this description that would mark it off as unusual or unfamiliar. But anyone who reads it cannot but notice the sense of physical discomfort which the writer was feeling on account of being cramped and pinched behind, his absorption in the scene, his interest in the details of the landscape, the large sweep of his observations which can take in trees and birds, bulls and dogs, his delight in the variegated colour scheme of the scene and his astonishment at the sight of a bird of which he had heard often, but which he had never seen. From this we find how the author takes in size, colour and extent with extreme ease. At the same time, we have here a sense of movement, a sense of the changing scene, but above all, a sense of actuality, a sense of things actually seen and felt and engaged. More than this, after reading a passage like this, one comes

to feel how commonplace is the experience. It is true it befell Arnold Bennett, but it can befall any one of us. Most of us are in the midst of such experience most days of our lives, though we do not observe it so carefully, enjoy it so heartily and express it so graphically.

But we might say that the gift of observing nature and describing it is a rare one. It does not come within the range of the experience of everyone. Yet who would deny that any town-dweller anywhere in this world would be familiar with a thing like this. "You can divide the restaurants of Paris, roughly, into two classes, those where the customers eat to live, and those where the customers eat to enjoy themselves. The Duvals are the great type of the former. Everything is stern, business-like, sharp and no extra-food luxuries at all. In the second class there is always leisure, and the waiters seem to be in a charming conspiracy to anticipate your wishes, and everything is done for you (quite apart from eating) that you could desire. In a word, the attitude of the restaurant to its customer is: You are here to enjoy yourself. Do so. Command us in anything. We will do all we can to produce an atmosphere of gaiety." Now what Arnold Bennett says of the restaurants of Paris can be said about the restaurants of any city. With a thing like this almost every one of us can claim familiarity. From the man who goes to a restaurant to have his lunch or dinner to the person who goes there for a plate of ice-cream, a glass of lemonade or a cup of tea, all can sense the atmosphere of the particular place they visit. Yet after reading a passage like this one feels that one has come to know a person who is more sensitive to the atmosphere of a place than most of us. Most of us do become sensitive to the atmosphere of a show place, for do not we, almost every one of us, feel the dullness of a Convocation Hall and grow lyrical when we visit the Ajanta Caves or indignant when we go to a dirty, insanitary hovel, yet to assess correctly one's response to familiar places, the novelty of which has been dulled by too much acquaintance, is left only to a fine craftsman like Bennett. By reading and reflecting on such pieces we grow, unconsciously as it were, mentally and emotionally. We become firmer in our grasp of things, surer in our judgments and keener in our perceptions. There are certain experiences and the rendering thereof at which we can only marvel with open-mouthed admiration, but there are others which seem to be the stuff of our life and with which we can establish intimacy in no time. It is with such experiences that some writers, mainly essayists, deal

and lead us to think that all experience is worth something. Arnold Bennett himself remarked once: "The sight of Burne-Jones's aloofness, of his continual pre-occupation with the spiritual, to the ignoring of everyday facts, served to complete in me a modification of view which has been proceeding now for a year or two. The day of my enthusiasm for realism, for 'naturalism' has passed. I can perceive that a modern work of fiction dealing with modern life may ignore realism and yet be great. To find beauty, which is always hidden, that is the aim. If beauty is found, then superficial facts are of small importance. But they are of some importance. And although I concede that in the past I have attached too high a value to realism, nevertheless I see no reason why it should be dispensed with. My desire is to depict the deeper beauty while abiding by the envelope of facts. At the worst, the facts should not be ignored. They might, for the sake of more clearly disclosing the beauty, suffer a certain distortion. I cannot think of a better word. Indeed, they could be ignored in the future. What the artist has to grasp is that there is no such thing as ugliness in the world. This I believe to be true, but perhaps the saying would sound less difficult in another form: all ugliness has an aspect of beauty. The business of the artist is to find that aspect." It might be said that a passage like this sums up beautifully the creed of a novelist, a poet or a dramatist, but not that of an essayist, but this is not true. On reading this passage carefully we find that the writer wants us to grapple with everyday facts and grapple with them in such a way as to reveal their beauty or significance. That is exactly what a diarist or an essayist does. He deals with the small change of life. the everyday facts the casual experience and reveals to us their hidden spirit or beauty.

It is not, however, necessary for an essayist to leave it to the reader to discover the beauty, the meaning or the significance for himself as Arnold Bennett has done in the passages quoted above. Very often the essayist becomes explicit and expansive. He steps forward to explain the thing himself. In other words, he ceases to be a mere reporter, but becomes a kind of commentator or leader-writer. He then shows his manifold reactions to a lot of commonplace or casual experience. He then reveals his temperament, his mental make-up, his sympathies and his prejudices. An example from Aldous Huxley's *Jesting Pilate* would illustrate this point. Perhaps all of us know that Aldous Huxley visited India some years ago. He went to

Lahore and delivered an instructive address at the Y. M. C. A. to a very, very select audience. The chair that evening was taken by an eminent politician who showed the all-roundness of his interests by saying, in the course of his introductory remarks, that Aldous Huxley was on the way to occupying the same high place in English fiction as was occupied by Charles Garvice then (This lecture was delivered, I believe, about twelve years ago). The learned chairman found in Huxley the same qualities of appeal, of entertainment, of insight into human nature and of the dramatic treatment of the facts of life as he had found in Charles Garvice. Huxley in that delightful book of his has described his journey by train from Peshawar to Lahore. In that chapter he complains of the enormous distances that lie between one place and another in India. He also complains against the high railway fares in India. (Who does not?) He also, in that chapter, complains against his steadily dwindling financial resources. To safeguard against these, he and his wife decided that they should travel second. From Peshawar to Campbellpore they found the journey extremely pleasant. They were the only occupants of the compartment and they congratulated themselves on their good luck that they were getting all that they needed, privacy and comfort, by paying only half of what they were accustomed to paying by making a habit of travelling first. But at Campbellpur the scene changed. The compartment was raided by a yellow-robed Sadhu, to see whom off came a large number of devotees with garlands. Here was a bit of experience for Huxley for which he had not bargained—we might call it a bit of casual experience. But to what use did Huxley turn it? He found the Sadhu a great favourite with ticket-collectors, guards and station-masters. They came to touch his feet at every halt. They brought fruits and sweets for him. Some of them even accompanied him for short distances. In the meanwhile, the Sadhu ate the fruits and sweets and dozed. He was so careless as not to bless even those who sought his benediction. Then he snored and spat all over the place. From his clothes, and from the clothes of his devotees, came a sour sickly odour. And this produced in Huxley a mood of exasperation and even of denunciation. In this exhibition of sanctity coupled with stink he became as vehement and anti-clerical as Voltaire. He remembered even Tolstoy's plea for stink. He wrote, "judging by appearances which are often deceptive, I should say that this particular holy man had no personal merit, but a very great office. His face, which

had the elements of a fine and powerful face, seemed to have disintegrated and run to fat under the influence of much self-indulgence. To look at, he was certainly one of the most repulsive human specimens I have seen." This shows what kind of loathing is produced in the mind of Huxley at the sight of the holy man. "All that we could be certain of was that he looked unpleasant and was undoubtedly dirty; also that he and his admirers exhaled the sour stink of garments being unwashed." The holy man does not offend only Huxley's sense of sight, but also his sense of smell. Huxley heaps scorn not only on him but also on his admirers. Yet soon we find that this hate extends itself in ever-widening circles. The holy man becomes the symbol of a class, the priestly class, that is to be found not only in the Orient but also in the Occident. "For the rest of the journey I ruminated my anti-clericalism. Indian friends have assured me that the power of the priests is less than it was, and goes on rapidly waning. I hope that they are right, and that the process may be further accelerated. And not in India alone. There is still, for my taste, too much kissing of amethysts as well as of slippered feet. There are still too many black coats in the West, too many orange ones in the East. My travelling companion had made me, for the moment, a thorough going Voltairian." The principal cause of the offence which the holy man gives is, however, his stink and while remembering it he gives a rapier thrust to the proletarian tendencies of Tolstoy and airs his own principles. "Tolstoy objected to too much cleanliness on the ground that to be too clean is a badge of class. It is only the rich who can afford the time and money to wash their bodies and shift their linen frequently. The labourer who sweats for his living and whose house contains no bathroom, whose wardrobes contain no superfluous shirts, must stink. It is inevitable and it is also right and proper that he should. Work is prayer, work is also stink. Therefore stink is prayer. So more or less argues Tolstoy, who goes on to condemn the rich for not stinking, and for bringing up their children to have a prejudice against all stinks however natural and even creditable. The non-stinker's prejudice against stink is largely a class-prejudice, and therefore to be condemned." But it is not only Tolstoy he shows up. He tries to propound his own theories also. "Tolstoy is quite right, of course. We who were brought up on open windows, clean shirts, hot baths and sanitary plumbing find it hard to tolerate twice-breathed air and all the odours which crowded

humanity naturally exhales. Our physical education has been such that the majority of our fellow beings, particularly those less fortunately circumstanced than ourselves, seem to us slightly or even extremely disgusting. A man may have strong humanitarian and democratic principles, but if he happens to have been brought up as a bath-taking, shirt-changing lover of fresh air, he will have to overcome certain physical repugnances before he can bring himself to put those principles into practice to the extent, at any rate, of associating freely with men and women whose habits are different from his own. It is a deplorable fact, but there it is. Tolstoy's remedy is that we should all stink together. Other reformers desire to make it economically possible for every man to have as many hot baths and to change his shirt as often as do the privileged non-stinkers at the present day. Personally, I prefer the second alternative." We find how this chance meeting with an Indian Sadhu has led Aldous Huxley to expound the various doctrines he holds so dear. This passage is not only splendid polemical writing, but also remarkably self-revealing. In the first place, we find here the reactions of a member of the upper middle class, especially English, to what we might term things proletarian. Tolstoy was nothing but proletarian in his sympathy, using the word proletarian in its general, non-political and even highly specialised non-economic sense, though an aristocrat by birth and up-bringing. He was also a fanatic in the expression of his opinions. Since he loved the peasant, the toiler of the soil, the worker with a spade, everything about him had for him a kind of sacred sanction. He therefore sometimes idolised the peasant to such an extent that he ignored his most obvious defects, such as his dirt, uncleanness or stink. This comes handy to Huxley and instead of being merely a propagandist for cleanliness he also becomes a crusader against stink. Nor does he leave the matter at that. He does not want that all human beings should be levelled down to the plane of existence on which the workers live, but that they should be levelled up to such an extent that every one lives as cleanly, hygienically and comfortably as a member of the upper, or say only the middle-class. More than this, one finds in this passage, Huxley's burning zeal against priesthood, and his evident satisfaction at knowing the fact that the influence of the priests in India is on the decline. Now all this we learn from Huxley merely as the result of his meeting by chance with a holy man.

But this kind of chance experience does not serve merely a Bennett or a Huxley. It serves others also. Riding on a hot day in great discomfort, Hazlitt read, "I count only the hours that are serene," the motto of a sun-dial near Venice. This acted as a spur to his imagination and his power of reflection. He thought of the monk of the dark ages who had invented it while loitering in his garden and watching his fruits ripen and his flowers grow. Again he thought of the various modes of counting time, the sun-dial, the hour glass, clocks and watches. He thought of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of all these and of the superiority of the sun-dial over all. "Of the several modes of counting time, that by the sun-dial is perhaps the most apposite and striking, if not the most convenient and comprehensive. It does not obtrude its observations, though it morals on the time, and by its stationary character, forms a contrast to the most fleeting of all essences." More than this he gives us to understand that there were two clocks which struck the hour in the room where he was. "This I do not like. In the first place, I do not want to be reminded twice how the time goes (it is like the second tap of a saucy servant at your door when perhaps you have no wish to get up): in the next place, it is starting a difference of opinion on the subject, and I am averse to every appearance of wrangling and disputation." Further on he imparts to us the confidence that he has never had a watch nor any other mode of keeping time in his possession, nor ever wished to learn how time passed." It is a sign I have had little to do, few avocations few engagements. When I am in a town, I can hear the clock; and when I am in the country, I can listen to the silence." Again by watching the different devices for measuring time used by different nations, he comes to assess their national characteristics. He believes that the French are indifferent (The French attach no importance to anything, except for the moment) and so on. But above all the motto of the sun-dial suggests a way of life. "What a fine lesson is conveyed to the mind—to take no note of time but by its benefits, to watch only for the smiles and neglect the frowns of fate, to compose our lives of bright and gentle moments, turning always to the sunny side of things, and letting the rest slip from our imaginations, unheeded or forgotten. How different from the common art of self-tormenting."

But chance experiences need not produce only rambling and diffuse reflections. Sometimes a chance experience had led to the production

of a supreme work of imagination or of a work that has more than a passing interest. We have all heard of Noel Coward, that versatile and daring man of the theatre, that actor, manager, producer and playwright all rolled into one. We have also, I think, heard and read his play 'Cavalcade.' This play has been described as 'the play of the century,' 'the picture of the generation.' While some have described it as a very patriotic play, others have thought that it smells of Jingoism. But no one can deny that it has a great effect as a spectacle and that it has some extremely well-written scenes such as the funeral of Queen Victoria and the outbreak of the war in 1914. But it would be interesting to know how this play came to be written. Says Noel Coward, "The original motive for Cavalcade, for instance, was a long-cherished ambition to write a big play on a big scale, and to produce it at the London Coliseum. I toyed for a while with the thought of a French Revolution epic, a pageant of the Second Empire and various other ideas which might give me enough scope for intimate characterisation against a background of crowded scenes. One day I happened to see in a back number of the Illustrated London News a photograph of a troopship leaving for the Boer War. Very soon after this the whole scheme of the play fell into my mind." This is how a chance perusal of the back number of a weekly became the germ of one of the most magnificent of modern plays.

Nor are we forgetful of the fact that while dining at a Paris restaurant, Arnold Bennett came across a fat and repulsive woman. She was old and ugly, eccentric and uninteresting. She was an object of ridicule for the whole of that restaurant. The waitresses laughed at her and even the diners could not repress their secret dislike of her. This chance experience moved Arnold Bennett and he said to himself, "She has been young and slim once." Then immediately he thought of a long 10 or 15 thousand words short-story, "The History of Two Old Women." He gave this woman a sister, as fat as herself. He thought of opening the book with a scene like the one he had witnessed in a restaurant. Then he thought of tracing the history of these two sisters from infancy onwards. One should have lived ordinarily, married prosaically, and become a widow. The other should have become a whore and all that; guilty splendour! Both are overtaken by fat. And they live together in old age, not too rich, a nuisance to themselves and to others. Neither

has any imagination." We will remember how this simple incident afterwards led to the writing of "The Old Wives' Tale," that tragedy of life which is Bennett's claim to an enduring place in English fiction.

So we find that chance does not play a part merely in human life, but it plays a vital part also in the realms of imaginative literature.¹

¹ Read under the auspices of the English Association, Dacca University, Dacca.



HOME AND SCHOOL

K. K. MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.T., DIP.SP.ENG.

Lecturer in Education, Calcutta University.

MUCH can be said and written on the subject of *home* and what it stands for. The rudest savage can boast of what is only, in a more decorative form, the possession even of emperors. We wander in distant lands in search of knowledge or adventure. we frequent places of amusement to satisfy the pleasure-loving side of our nature ; we do everything in our power to satiate our longings and desires : but the lodestone, the homing instinct which is grounded in our very nature and which it is impossible to resist, always tends to draw us homeward, no matter where we are.

If, therefore, home is the centre round which man gives vent to all his warm feelings and tender emotions in one form or other—emotions which are his heritage from the great past ; if he works and plans and builds up his schemes with this source of energy and inspiration ever within reach ; if home has the predominating influence in the lives of most, then there is an aspect of home which should be considered and taken into account by all who seek to educate the younger generation.

It behoves us, therefore, to analyse this aspect in such a way as to imbibe its full meaning while at the same time to discover its relation towards the school, the '*alma mater*' of the child and youth.

Now there are two ways in which a child may attend school, either as a day scholar or as a boarder. As the former, the school is to him but a place where he spends a certain period each day in acquiring knowledge. He does not, as a rule, enter into the more homely, and in a sense, the better side of school life, being absent at all times while the boarders live there as members of a family, and are not, for the time, units in a systematised graduated whole. The relation between home and school in the case of a day-scholar is not the same as that in the case of a boarder ; and it is necessary to examine the essential characteristics of the life of each before drawing and comparing their respective relationships.

A day-scholar, as the term implies, only attends school when classes are held, usually between the hours of ten and eleven in the morning and stays there till three or four in the afternoon; the rest of the twenty-four hours he is practically outside school influence. He studies at home, moves about in the company of his friends and relations there, and satisfies all his longings and desires within the influence of the family circle. Knowing more or less nothing of the more intimate side of school life, he is not in a position to learn and experience those aspects of social life which go towards the making of a good and useful member of society. By this is not meant the total absence of the realisation of such qualities, but rather that the opportunities in the home are not so great, and hence the contact with others of his own age is not as complete as it might be. The famous Scottish educator, David Stow, has put forward his well-known doctrine of the '*sympathy of numbers*' which maintains that there is a power in numbers not experienced in individual teaching and training and that this power makes the school a better and a more desirable place for education than the home. "There is an intellectual and moral sympathy," says he, "that children feel with those of the same age, which is not felt by the members of a single family. Other sympathies are indeed experienced in the family, which no school can possibly furnish; yet intellectually, and even morally, the school is a necessary and powerful auxiliary." It is found, for instance, in a family that a boy at twelve does not normally sympathise with his brother at ten, and probably still less with his sister at six or seven. He naturally chooses for his companions, at any game or for any pursuit, whether innocent or mischievous, children about his own age, and he makes this choice from *sympathy*.

On the other hand, it is also true that the child at home may constantly be under the refining influence of his parents, and, under their wise yet loving guidance, can develop those precepts which, as a babe, he learnt at his mother's knee, and which, after due examination and adherence, are really the foundations of character, and later of society and good citizenship. The tone and traditions of schools and colleges are mostly due to good homes from where the children bring in the germs of all virtues, manners and good-breeding. A good home-trained child is undoubtedly a very valuable school asset and is the centre of the school community. Bad homes and unsympathetic parents can do a great mischief to the school society

just as sympathetic guardians and parents can effect a lot of good. It should, therefore, be the aim of our teachers to establish and maintain as close a relation with the parents of their pupils as possible. Both parents and teachers will benefit by this not to speak of the pupils. Both parents and teachers can supplement one another's knowledge of the pupils and there can be a hearty co-operation and conjoined effort in the matter of education and care for their sons and wards. The greater this co-operation, the more will be the chances both of schools and homes for discharging faithfully their responsibility to the children.

Take the case of a well-trained mother. She teaches her son at an early age to pray, to behave gently and courteously with all and to initiate all that is good for him. She seeks to guide his natural instincts along the right channels and she strives by precept and example to impress on him the need for cleanliness in body and mind. She also watches every action of his in love and fear : in love, because the child is her own flesh and blood ; in fear, because it possesses certain instinctive qualities too, which she can at best modify or ' sublimate ' but never eradicate.

So the child grows, and with an anxious heart the mother sends him to school. That first day of the child's school life, when she no longer is in full control and is his only teacher, is a heavy one for her. She is restless and impatient till the child returns ; and then—what questioning ! ' Did he like the school ' ? ' What were his companions like ' ? ' What kind of teacher had he ' ? ' Did he miss his mother ' ? These and such other questions come naturally and freely, springing as they do from an ever watchful and loving heart.

Later, as the years roll by, the mother has ample opportunity to view the results of those brief periods of his absence from home each day, to watch the transition from childhood to adolescence, and to come to a full consciousness of the actual type of youth her son is tending to be.

Is not, therefore, the relation between home and school in such a case apparent ? Should not the school be a place where the child develops those inherent qualities which as a babe it was encouraged to exercise ? Should it not be a mine from which the child can draw at will such jewels of qualities as goodness, kindness, gentleness, sympathy and other kindred virtues ? Should it not be a larger and

broader area of mental and physical development ? In a word, should it not be but another *home*, where eyes as watchful and vigilant, but minds more tried and experienced than those of the parents are the guiding factors in the child's stride towards maturity ?

If this is so in the case of the day-pupil, how much more is it in the case of the boarder ? Here the child is completely shut off from the influence of home and parents for the greater part of the year. He mixes freely with others of his own age, is constantly under the supervision of his teachers, is unconsciously influenced by both, is subject to every kind of temptation and is growing in reality a product of school and not of the family *as such*, he springs from. In all probability, his mother's earliest teachings are generally forgotten, and vain and harmful ideas may sometimes be substituted instead. Whenever he enters his home, he is partly a stranger. The link that binds him to the family is weakened ; he is viewed with love, certainly, but with a certain amount of apprehension. The principles of the school are assimilated by him and the tone of the school is reflected in his attitude and behaviour. That this is actually the case no sane person will deny. One has only to meet the young lads of a boarding school in order to be satisfied as to the truth of this assertion. The misery caused in many families by the unstable and quixotic behaviour of school youths and maidens is all too common, and in common justice one must admit that it is not entirely the fault of the child. The general apathy with which most teachers regard their duty is far more prevalent than a layman can realise, and where interest is lacking harm will surely arise. Can we blame the children for wrong-doing when their time is not properly and usefully engaged ? A child has no doubt emotions, tastes tendencies and inclinations but he knows not how to develop them. If he did, there was no need whatever for the teacher.

Now, if it is agreed that every child, apart from having the knowledge he acquires, is also to develop himself mentally, morally and physically as fully as possible, it is essential that there should be a perfect and mutual understanding between parent and teacher, and also between school authorities and guardians alike, as to the proper channels along which each child is to be guided with a view to attaining his manhood or womanhood as the case may be. It amounts, in other words, to the establishment of a link between home and school : many links rather, which the child gradually welds together, year by year, each tested and

found strong by the combined examination of parent and teacher: links made of understanding and sympathy with the needs of the child—the need of an individual who, though sharing certain common characteristics with the other members of his race, is yet a being apart, having these characteristics definitely varied in quality and quantity, which constitute his individuality. Modern educators are very keen on this point of treating an individual, and as an individual not exactly as one of a number of the same class.

Now, the problem of parental co-operation is especially acute in India where most parents and guardians are uneducated or half-educated. There goes on, as it were, a *'tug-of-war'* between parents on one side and the school staff on the other, because of the 'dogged and deeprooted conservatism' of the former and also because of the lack of seriousness on the part of the latter. Scotland is probably the country where parental co-operation has been brought to the highest pitch. The parents there do much for the school in which their children are educated and for the masters educating them. In our country the exact opposite is often the case. We can, however, suggest a number of ways by which a cordial relationship between the school and the parent may be established, and when once established, strengthened and developed. The school can organise, for instance, once or twice in the year 'Parents' Days' when the Head Master can take the opportunity to invite and entertain all the parents and guardians and explain to them new plans for school work or organisation and the ideals of the school, to explain difficulties confronting the school and, in general, take the parents into his confidence. It is also a good plan to open an exhibition of work where the specimens of the best work done in different subjects by pupils of different classes may be set off. Or, we might also organise 'Parent-Teacher Associations' which will consist of members taken from the whole staff of the school and as many of the parents as possible. Such an association will have occasional meetings and will discuss topics of educational and cultural interest, always with an eye to the local needs and requirements. In these sittings, the teachers or the interested and educated parents may ventilate any new ideas on educational ideals, theories and practices that they may have and which they wish to introduce into the school. It is also advisable for the best interest of the school to have parents represented on the governing body of the school. All this will, no doubt, ensure greater interest and enthusiasm being taken in the school

by the parents and guardians alike, and will make the conducting of the school work more smooth and easier. "A friendship established between the representatives of the two greatest influences in the life of the child can result only in good. The teacher will understand the pupil better and the parent will know better where care or pressure is needed. The chances of school and home pulling in different directions will be greatly reduced."

It may be concluded, therefore, that for both the day-scholar and the boarder, the relation between home and school cannot be too cordial and close. The home and the school are, as it were, the two units in one association. They must both act towards the furtherance of one aim, one ideal and common interest. These two have education and character training of the scholars as their ultimate objectives, and there cannot be any rigid separation between the two. The home and the school must, therefore, co-operate, forming an 'Organic whole' and there must be one undivided influence of these two upon scholars—a harmonious influence due to their co-operation upon pupils. Each can exercise its functions without trespassing on the rights of the other ; for, as the saying goes, "Two heads are better than one." The home and the school should be two gardens, if the metaphor is permissible, where watchful and experienced gardeners tend the flourishing of delicate and supple plants, protecting them from baneful elements, and carefully suppressing all weeds which tend to check the growth. The parents and the teachers are the co-educators of the child. The responsibility must be shared by both, and not shelved to one or the other. They are both the trustees of his natural inheritance : it is their bounden duty to ensure that this inheritance is not wasted, but used to the best advantage, for the welfare of the individual, the family and the society at large.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS IN RECENT ENGLISH FICTION

BY SRICHANDRA SEN, M.A.

Calcutta University.

THE twentieth century has cast doubt upon the time-honoured ideas regarding marriage¹ and has endeavoured to study the problems connected with it in an unbiased and critical spirit. The result has been a series of experiments in the process of which the institutional character of marriage secured by religious or legal formalities has all but disappeared in certain parts of Europe, and in Russia at least marriage is entered into as often and as easily as any other voluntary act which is freely revocable.²

Marriage was once held to be a sacred institution and the solemn character given to it by law and religion rendered any doubt about it impertinent. It used to be quite readily assumed that the state of marriage was one of undiluted happiness. This view was upheld by religion and accepted by the novelists as substantially correct. If contrarious fortune pursued one even in wedlock when one is expected to taste supreme joy, the circumstance appeared inexplicable unless of course it could be justified by the presence of an exceptionally evil strain in one's character. There was an easy optimism in this atmosphere which is entirely missed in the attitude of to-day. As may be expected, these ideas are now discarded as old-fashioned and thoroughly inconsistent with any true conception of married life. The assumption of happiness in consequence of marriage proceeded from a childlike delight in happy ending and the promise of happiness is likely to be even less true of this age on account of the infinitely more complex character of its civilisation. Opinion has now veered

¹ Bernard Shaw mentions the following motives for marriage in "Getting Married": reckless love of which "young things" are victims, money and comfort and companionship prized by "old things"; the doorway to escape importunities of suitors; novelty of the experience and the desire to bring to an end an aimless philandering. (*The Complete Plays*, Constable & Co. Ltd., 1931, p. 570).

² Jessica Smith, *Woman in Soviet Russia* (New York, Vanguard Press, 1928), pp. 110-111; Recent reforms in Russia have, however, modified this slightly.

to the other extreme and it is now sometimes held that "marriage hardly ever leads even to moderate satisfaction and happiness."¹

Although the words of Montaigne that we do not marry for ourselves have not lost all their significance in this age, it is evident that he does not view marriage as a personal problem which is what distinguishes the marriage of our times from all previous ideas on the subject. Gay and unserious as the analysis of the facts of marriage is in Stevenson's "Virginibus Puerisque" published more than fifty years ago, there is no doubt that this generation feels considerable hesitation in getting married, and a life-long union through marriage is thought to be little suited to hasty and impulsive conduct.

It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that marriage being a very deliberate act in these days it is generally postponed until a late period in life. This has led to a considerable rise in the age of marriage. It still remains, however, to be seen if children born of older parents will be better or worse than those whose parents are younger,² but one fact seems on the whole clear and that is that motherhood becomes increasingly risky with advancing age. Statistics give support to this statement. In 1925 the death rate per 1 000 in childbirth was 3.9, three years later it rose to 4.1 per 1,000.

With all the precaution taken to make marriage successful, there does not seem to be any improvement in the situation and the courts are now being increasingly kept busy in granting divorces. It has been computed by a writer (1928) that divorces in the United Kingdom have multiplied sixfold since 1908.³

Under the old system marriage meant an enlargement of life for the girl. She generally found the change from the parental roof to the life in the husband's household where she was the mistress a welcome one. But conditions have become different in this age, and the girl in entering matrimony has to bid goodbye to her independent income and her free and exciting associations which strangely contrast with the drab monotony of the domestic life where old memories haunt her as she is mostly free, there being not much to do in running the

¹ Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1938, p. 273.

² Quo-Usque, *Have We Lost Our Way* (Hodder and Stoughton), p. 20, "This means that the new generation will be born of older parents which cannot be a very good thing." The assertion sounds a little dogmatic and a few lines further on on the same page the writer himself admits "that there is little evidence to prove that children of older parents are inferior."

³ *Ibid*, p. 21.

household with the help of time-saving appliances. She is bored, and looking for sensations and new interests she lets herself in for mischief.

The husband and wife may both agree to earn and have a joint fund.¹ But this arrangement does not work well where the wife earns more and looks for some striking quality in the husband which would win him easy recognition in his service. That does not often happen, and the wife drifts apart, first from a contempt secretly felt which may later be reinforced by admiration for some other man.

Thinkers to-day have tried to answer the question: "What leads to a successful marriage? They do not seriously believe that there is any truth in the assertion made by people seeking marriage that the person chosen represents the "only possible one" ² for in a short time they themselves generally discover that the affection by which they once set so much store reflected their state of mind for the time being only. Count Keyserling in his well-known dissertation states that when love turns to marriage, it has very little chance of keeping the two people together for a long time. In his opinion marriage in such cases is likely to prove most fragile. The prospects of marriage turning out to be an enduring bond are much superior when love or personal attraction has not acted as the sole guide to the choice.³ Marriage does not prove disappointing when the sense of a separate ego has not been highly developed, and when it has been entered into for overcoming a feeling of loneliness or for founding a family. Keyserling considers marriage apart from love, self-preservation and propagation, regarding it as essentially a personal matter. And the greatest bond between husband and wife, according to him, is that of a common destiny which in a serious nature manifests itself as a stronger force than sex or the consideration of selfish happiness. Keyserling looks at marriage as a tragic state, defining tragic as a "conflict for which there is no conceivable solution. He falls foul of the Christian idea regarding marriage, condemning it as

¹ A. S. M. Hutchinson in his preface to "This Freedom" sees no difficulty in the success of a marriage where the wife is not in economic subjection to the husband: "Can a woman continue a career after marriage and at the same time do her duty as wife? Certainly she can. Can a woman be a mother to her children and at the same time earn her living? Certainly she can." (Hodder and Stoughton, 1924). But his treatment of the subject seems a little shallow.

² The Book of Marriage (Jonathan Cape, 1927). The Correct Statement of the Marriage Problem by Count Hermann Keyserling, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 17.

“pernicious,” because it sees “an ideal in the mere fact of marriage.” The language used by him appears to be unjustifiably strong. The Christian idea may here be briefly outlined showing that the strictures are undeserved.

The Book of Genesis depicts marriage as coming into existence in response to man’s social instinct. Man found in companionship the most fruitful source of self-development ; “it was not good that man should be alone.” Hence arose marriage which brought two people into the most intimate form of companionship. “Thus the words ‘The twain shall become one flesh’ imply much more than a merely carnal relationship.”¹ The strict attitude assumed by Christianity to the question of divorce has generally been criticised. It regards divorce as sinful and as at variance with the ‘divine institution of marriage.’ According to the Christian ideal the wedded life represents “a perfect union of love and affection, and entire community of aims and interests, as also of worldly possessions, and a perfect and mutual understanding.”²

It has been suggested that in the case of highly individualized people the success of marriage would depend upon how far the privacy of each is respected by the other. The rule in this matter is keeping one’s distance deliberately. The French aristocrat who enjoyed the advantages of high culture kept to the comparatively remote form of address when speaking to his wife, rejecting the intimate ‘thou’ as not being consistent with self-respect. The practice of using separate rooms and not violating the privacy of each other proceeded from a recognition of the need of aloofness in married life as a means of avoiding those petty quarrels and misunderstandings which interfere with its success. Count Keyserling predicts that this quality of reserve will be increasingly present in marriage-relations.³

There is compensation in unhappy marriage as some thinkers have noticed. When the natural outlet for sympathy and affection is closed to a man, his life turns inwards and is enriched by an intensification which comes from his marriage proving a failure. He will experience a deeper peace and happiness and will be conscious of

¹ From article on Marriage (Christian) contributed by W. M. Foley to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, T. & T. Clark, 1915, p. 434.

² *Ibid.* See also I Cor. VII. 1-9.

³ The Book of Marriage (Jonathan Cape, 1927). The Correct Statement of the Marriage Problem by Keyserling, p. 37.

being sufficient unto himself in a manner which cannot be associated with the ease and comfort of a happy marriage.

Marriage does not open the path to self-indulgence. But it provides one with the opportunity of attaining to the highest spiritual culture. There is no possibility of its being eclipsed in the future. As Bernard Shaw observes: "open violation of the marriage laws means either downright ruin or such inconvenience and disablement as a prudent man or woman would get married ten times over rather than face."¹

In the following pages a survey will be made of the picture of married life, its causes and conditions, as depicted in recent English fiction. We shall have occasion to refer to the views already discussed as well as to observe the modifications they undergo at the hands of the novelists. The above is a summary of the ideas which are "in the air," and may be treated as a background to what follows.

Stephen in "The Passionate Friends" lays down a sort of golden rule regarding the kind of marriage most to be desired. It should be between people who are equals in age and physical fitness, who neither idolise nor allow being idolised by each other. To behave like a toy² is as contemptible as to instal one's partner on a high pedestal. Recommending a sisterly attitude between the married couple, Stephen again insists upon equality in more significant words: "Love neither a goddess nor a captive woman."³ Mary in the story does not bind herself by marriage to Stephen. She does not consent to be "some one's certain possession." She is in love with Stephen. But she will not be his squaw, sharing his worries and disappointing him by her inefficiency in domestic work. She chose to marry Justin whose vast wealth guaranteed leisure and refinement. But her life is wrecked as a penalty for having been disloyal to her great passion. She lives to own herself intolerably wretched.

In "Marriage" Wells makes a different approach to the problem. The question there is what happens when love leads to the altar and lacks nothing in the material environment to sustain and nourish it.

¹ Preface to *Getting Married* (1903), Prefaces by Bernard Shaw. Published by Constable and Co. Ltd. (1934), p. 1. See *Revolutionist's Handbook*. Shaw says Marriage is popular because it combines the maximum of temptation with the maximum of opportunity. The above note and 2 or 3 others have suggested by Profes or Humphry House.

² Since the publication of "A Doll's House" by Ibsen women in the West have steadily risen above the subjection in which they were once held and have learned to insist upon a footing of equality in their married relations.

³ H. G. Wells, *The Passionate Friends* (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1926), p. 62.

And the answer is : " A day arrives in every marriage when the lovers must face each other, disillusioned, stripped of the last shred of excitement—undisguisedly themselves."¹ Marjorie in the novel is first engaged to Magnet, a celebrated humorous writer with an annual income of five thousand pounds in addition to a considerable sum of money standing to his credit in the bank. She does not love him but the promise of a comfortable home in London is not altogether unwelcome. At about the time of her engagement she quite accidentally meets Professor Trafford, a young man who possesses the capacity to make her feel interested. They mutually fall in love, and on attainment of her majority, she runs away from home and marries the young scholar against the wishes of her father Mr. Pope. The Magnet episode does not trouble her, for the humorous writer chooses the younger sister and makes a successful match of it.

It is at this point that the real problem in the story begins to take shape. The author does not lose it in a sexual tangle where the solution would perhaps be too simple to need any careful elucidation. Trafford does not fall a victim to any temptation nor is Marjorie guilty of any infidelity. From narrow means Trafford rises to great affluence by success in business. The young professor reluctantly gives up his true vocation which he had found in the study of science, and pursues a business career ; but he does not regret it. What he discovers with pain in his heart is that he can no longer feel " the immense freedom in love " which he had experienced during courtship and honeymoon in Italy. The everyday life seemed to have conquered both of them. " There grew up in him a vast hinterland of thoughts and feelings " to which his wife had no access, where he was completely alone. Thus the day arrived in his life when he could no longer bear " this litter of little satisfactions," and stood " disillusioned, stripped of the last shred of excitement." This was the moment of great crisis in his life and he decided to go away at least for a short while from the cramping of the social routine to refresh his soul. He chose Labrador as the place where he would be hundreds of miles away from the reach of civilisation. His wife stood by his side. There in the wild unartificial surrounding the vivid sense of life's great adventure penetrated them and they once more fell into

¹ H. G. Wells, *Marriage* (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1926), Atlantic Edition, Vol. XV p. 301.

easy pace with each other, and the curtain that had fallen between them was raised high enough for them to breathe the old spirit of freedom which Trafford had so much missed and regretted. The tie between the husband and wife regained some of its old strength when Marjorie willingly followed her husband into the wilderness of that uninhabited country, leaving behind the dazzling social world of London and her children, and it acquired an added virtue when her courage and decision saved Trafford from the lynx which had overpowered him and he lay in a faint at some distance from his hut in Labrador. Marjorie nursed him through his fever and delirium. When they returned to Europe after the sojourn, a strong basis of understanding had grown up between them which, one could confidently expect, would last them through their lives.

Wells in this novel brings us face to face with the disillusionment from which there is no running away in married life. What is one to do when it comes is the question which naturally arises. Wells suggests that the conjugal bond, if it is worth anything, will not easily break down and that the wrong done by the heavy pressure of the social world will be redressed by solitude which will not fail to bring a new significance into the lives of the married people acting as a powerful bond uniting them through renewed understanding and sympathy. The chief thing is not to lose the spirit of adventure by too readily accepting a routine-bound existence which does not recognise any thing of a higher value than what is immediately perceived.

In "Marriage" in spite of a gulf that was slowly opening between Trafford and Marjorie, one fact seems to be clear, namely that, there was some reality in their married relations which arose either from the fact of their having had children or from a certain noble strain in their character which could never be entirely destroyed. It is possible that these causes combined, preventing a complete estrangement from taking place. This accounted for the manner in which the breach between them was closed, and their life succeeded in recapturing the original freedom they had felt in each other's presence in the days of their courtship and honeymoon.

In "All Men Are Enemies" Richard Aldington reviews a different situation. There Tony was not in love with Margaret when he married her but with Katha, an Austrian girl, whom he had met in Italy immediately before the outbreak of the War, and whom he could not trace in spite of frantic search after the armistice had been declared.

Margaret belonged to his own class, and Tony's father regarded her as a suitable match. Their pre-marital relations during the years of the war were interpreted by Margaret as an assurance of marriage from Tony. It was in this way that Margaret came into his life. It was almost a social necessity that finally led to the marriage. Tony could have backed out if he had been firmly resolved against taking the step but he saw no reason for doing so. He was persuaded to believe that Katha was dead. Aldington paints Tony as a romantic whose mental outlook was dominated by two fixed beliefs—one in the Platonic fable regarding everyone being half of a definite whole and the idea that the complete human being is formed by a man and a woman; the other was that life is more than getting and spending. Margaret had money of her own and Tony was earning large profits from a firm of which he was a Director. He was irritated by the thought that he was an overpaid, unnecessary cog in the machine. He hated communism as inadequate but he liked to eliminate the middleman who stood between the buyer and the maker as a barrier to direct dealings. Thus after long reflections he decided to resign from his office as a condemnation of the system followed in the business world. As for future plans, he was not more definite than can be gathered from this: "I can try to live, I can go for something I think better."¹ Margaret did not understand her husband, and when she learnt that he was going to ruin his career by what seemed to her an inexplicable step, she was completely helpless to appreciate Tony's attitude and was ready to believe that his plan to go abroad and everything else could be cleared up only by a supposed infatuation for a woman. She had hired the service of a spy to watch her husband's movements as soon as the suspicion had arisen in her mind without having been able to obtain a definite clue to the mystery. She had done this with a view to instituting divorce proceedings against her husband. Tony invited her to accompany him in his travel but unlike Marjorie in Wells' "Marriage" she refused to do so. Tony left England after completing his financial arrangements for the support of Margaret and himself, and his departure marked the collapse of their married life. Between Margaret and Tony there was no innate spiritual bond nor the tie of children to keep them together. Margaret was essentially a materialist, not caring to look beyond money and the comfort

¹ Richard Aldington, *All Men Are Enemies* (Chatto & Windus, Phoenix Library, first published 1933), p. 270.

it can bring and Tony, as already noticed, was a romanticist who made a grudging acknowledgement of the worth of material things. Tony met Katha by chance information given to him in the course of his travel, and rejecting the notions of sin, they determined not to part again but to "live-in-love" for ever. Tony wrote to his wife that if she desired he would make it easy for her to get a divorce.

In marrying Margaret Tony did not act impulsively. He kept her waiting and insistent, and his attitude showed that he was aware of the temperamental difference between himself and Margaret. His marriage, therefore, requires some explanation. He gives it himself in answer to a question put to him: "Why do any of us marry? We set out hopefully after the mirage, and finally grew accustomed to the desert."¹ The hope in the beginning and the later disillusionment are not, as already noticed, any rare experience in married life.

It is commonly thought that love and marriage are intimately connected, in fact love in the west is held to be a justification of marriage as well as of the continuance of the married state. Yet in recent years doubts have repeatedly been expressed regarding the truth of this view. Captain Hepburn, for instance, in D. H. Lawrence's novel tells Hannele to whom he proposes marriage: "I don't want marriage on a basis of love."² He was a widower and he would not marry a second time to repeat an experience which he characterised as a "ghastly affair" by letting love act again as a fundamental consideration. He was loved by his wife, but a woman makes a doll of the man she is in love with, and then she does not want anything more. She is content with it. The Captain regards such love as an insult, and all his life he had been insulted by love, and the women who had loved him. His attitude which he so clearly defined would, of course, remain the same whoever the woman might be whom he desired to marry. He would expect honour and obedience in marriage, and his ideal was a sort of patient Griselda who would render them to him along with "the proper physical feelings." He tells Hannele brutally that he would much rather live as a monk for the rest of his life than undertake to adore her or be in love with her. But he would love and cherish his wife in the sense in which these words are used

¹ Aldington, *All Men Are Enemies*, p. 261.

² D. H. Lawrence, *The Captain's Doll* (*The Tales of D. H. Lawrence*, Martin Secker, 1934), p. 552.

in the marriage service. Hannele taunts him as he is not ready to love a woman for herself but only because she is his wife. This she describes as "Ghastly fate for any miserable woman." But the Captain stoutly maintains that to be loved and shielded as a wife—not as a flirting woman—is the highest fate for a woman.¹

Mrs. Witt, a character in another novel by D. H. Lawrence, has had innumerable love experiences in her life. She loved and was loved because of a sympathy or understanding that grew up but for a period of fifteen years she did not want to have anything to do with a man. Her indifference in the matter was caused by her failing to see mystery—"that peculiar Pan" in any one she had met during this time. She was no longer anxious to discover sympathy because she was now more vitally interested in what she described as the "unfallen Pan." She found what she looked for in her groom Lewis—a man whose nature had preserved what was essentially animal without that touch of the mind which would rob it of mystery, leaving behind merely "cleverness, or niceness or cleanness." He belongs to the same class as the peasant lover in *Lady Chatterley*², but unlike the gamekeeper in that novel, Lewis demands respect for his body as a condition of any physical relationship with a woman. He is in Mrs. Witt's service, and cannot have her respect. But there was evidence to show in the shape of an odd, uncanny merriment and an unexpected loquacity which were called forth by the presence of Mrs. Witt that he was in love with her. When his mistress makes the proposal of marriage to him, his reply is: "No Mm, I couldn't give my body to any woman who didn't respect it."

(To be Continued.)

¹ *Ibid*, p. 555.

² D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Martin Secker).

³ D. H. Lawrence, *St Mawr, The Tales* (Martin Secker, 1934), p. 644.

THOMAS EARLE WELBY

C. L. R. SASTRI

“ I weep for Adonais—he is dead !
O, weep for Adonais ! though our tears
Thaw not the frost which binds so dear a head !
And thou, sad Hour, selected from all years
To mourn our loss, rouse thy obscure compeers,
And teach them thine own sorrow, say : ‘ With me
Died Adonais ; till the Future dares
Forget the Past, his fate and fame shall be
An echo and alight unto Eternity ! ’ ”

—SHELLEY : ADONAI8.

THOMAS Earle Welby's name was one to conjure with while he lived ; and it is not less so now that he is dead. In him has passed away the finest literary journalist as well as literary critic of recent times. There was very little of English literature of which he was not a discerning student, and there was practically no part of it on which he could not, if an enthusiastic admirer may be permitted to say so, write the heads off his contemporaries. In him immensity of learning and a charming style were combined as in no other author with whose production I am familiar. The difficulty was, which to praise more, his erudition, or the matchless instrument that he contrived to fashion for himself as a suitable vehicle for that erudition. For, let there be no mistake, scholarship alone does not carry a man far : it is apt to be nothing, to be a mere expense of spirit in a waste of effort, if it is not accompanied by a lively pen. I am of the opinion that, at any given point of time, there is rarely, or never, a lack of bookish lore. As long as this sort of fodder is available in fairly large quantities people will also be found existing that have consumed it with a frantic eagerness that often puts to shame the dilettante reader, the literary bee who goes to this flower now for his honey, and, anon, to that, never pursuing his vocation in right earnest, never hanging on to it like grim death, but supremely satisfied if he but pick a morsel of

information here and peck at a crumb there, just as his fancy prompts him. So that it not seldom happens that we meet with a kind of division of labour—those whose minds are veritable storehouses and arsenals of learning but whom the gods have not blessed with the gift of being able to “put it across,” and those who cannot honestly boast of such formidable knowledge but who, nevertheless, have the knack of communicating to others whatever of it they do possess in a manner that is truly unforgettable. By a curious divine economy, in this world none has everything. To this general rule, however, Earle Welby was one of the few exceptions: he was a gaudily glittering “captain jewel in the carcanet” of the usual run of heavy-footed literary quill-drivers. He possessed a beautiful and quite individual style, and his articles invariably conferred a unique distinction on the journal wherein they appeared. His contributions to the old *Saturday Review* (under the editorship of Mr. Gerald Barry) and, later on, to the *Week-end Review* (under the same distinguished editorship) were in a class by themselves: their equals were not to be found anywhere else. The editor who could secure his services was thrice blessed. Welby was the inheritor of such *fulfilled* renown that Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, when he was the Literary Editor of the *New Statesman*, tried his best to annex him to that weekly, but without any success: that brilliant young man, Mr. Gerald Barry, had prior claims upon him. What he wrote of the late Mr. Augustine Birrell can be applied to himself *mutatis mutandis*.

“Whatever the importance of the things said, considered as sheer criticism, we are always aware of being in the presence of a very distinguished and thoroughly mellowed man, of one who both cares profoundly for civilization and takes every menace to it, every defiance of it, without undue seriousness.” (*The Week-End Review*, April 5, 1930.)

He concluded the notice with this pregnant sentence: “Rare as good critics always are, we shall find a dozen before we shall find again the combination of virtues and graces exhibited by Mr. Birrell.” Well, that fits Welby himself to a T.

Welby was born in India in 1881. His father, who, as Mr. Edward Shank says, in his excellent introduction to Welby’s *Second Impressions* (Methuen, 1933)

“was a Government official and the son of an Anglican Bishop, had theories about the bringing up of children born in the country, and the

child did not begin to speak or even hear his own language until he was six years old. His parents were at the pains to converse with him in the same language as the servants and he learned to read from an Indian sacred epic. He returned to India, after education in England and spent there as a journalist in Madras and Calcutta the greater part of his adult life. He was one of the ablest English journalists that ever worked in India."

That he was one of the ablest English journalists that ever worked in India is true. But, unfortunately, he was not sympathetic to the aspirations of the country in which he was born and whose salt he ate for "the greater part of his adult life." That, however, is the most deplorable kink in your typical Englishman's character, and we are, by now, very familiar with it. Moreover, he was a confirmed Tory from the beginning. Once he gave expression to the view that there were only three real, true-blue Tories extant in England: George Saintsbury, Charles Whibley, and himself. Alas, all three have "crossed over." If we bear in mind that he was a thorough conservative by conviction even as regards English politics we may perhaps be able to excuse him to certain extent. To quote from Mr. Shanks again:

"He was to be sure a conservative, not in reference to the political issues of the moment but as a man with a philosophy. One of his earliest books was the rather unhappily named *Figs from Thistles*, the first sentence of which runs: 'Of all great people, we British are the least fitted for pure or advanced democracy.' He believed, and believed firmly, that we had departed from the form of policy best suited to the national genius. But here and elsewhere he was not so much a decrrier of the present as one who wished to preserve what was good in the legacy of the past. He had no quarrel with the present unless it attempted to interfere with that legacy."

While in India, however, Welby, side by side with his day-to-day work as a political journalist, was slowly but surely laying the foundation of a solid literary reputation for the future. Not content with the success of the hour he was indefatigably pursuing his more serious studies—studies that he prescribed for himself with unerring precision. In particular, he became a close student of Swinburne. I do not know how it happened, because Welby was a Tory of Tories and Swinburne was a fiery radical. But it happened anyhow, and the domain of English literature is the richer for it. That he taught

himself on his own lines is pretty evident, because till the end of his life he never desisted from flinging a gibe at the acknowledged professors and scholars. It is all the more surprising, since he was not lacking in scholarship himself, and, consequently, the charge of "sour grapes" cannot be levelled against him. He was able to demonstrate his erudition on more than one occasion. He published two valuable books on Swinburne—the first in 1914, the second (revised and enlarged and almost entirely re-written) in 1926. I have read the latter and can say that it is a masterpiece of literary criticism. Whatever he did not know about the author of *Atalanta in Calydon* is not worth knowing: so that we may safely lay it down that, when he died in February, 1933, there passed away from our midst the greatest authority on Swinburne that this age has produced. As that distinguished critic, Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, justly comments, in his obituary notice of him in the *Week-end Review* of Feb. 25, 1933.

"Swinburne was the first subject which had tempted his powers of analysis (1914), and when he returned to it 12 years later, he was determined to go into it thoroughly. Despite the reader's possible reluctance to follow him, he took him through a thick-set jungle of ideas and distinctions to the very heart of the matter. No one has analysed better Swinburne's prosody and diction, or his feverish abstract excitement when his subject is lust. 'It is callousness, dead coldness,' he says there 'that is the distinguishing character of lust.'"

Or, as "Richard Sunne" (Mr. R. Ellis Roberts) puts it, in *Time and Tide* of March 4, 1933:

"He (Welby) did not in the least mind having unfashionable tastes. He was one of the few critics to rank Arthur Symonds at his proper value; and his book on Swinburne is a fine appreciation of an author whose present condition of disesteem is largely due to the fact that young men prefer the driven sands of waste land to the roaring of the waves of the unharvested sea."

His *Popular History of English Poetry* (first published by Philpot, in 1923, and now by Methuen, 1933) has been regarded in many authoritative quarters as really the best popular history of English poetry that we have so far. One usually feels a sense of incalculable fatigue when poring over histories of literature, but I, for one, can testify that I did not encounter any such tedium when I read it

diligently from beginning to end. About this Mr. Edward Shanks says in the "Introduction" to Welby's *Second Impressions*, from which I have already quoted:

"Of all his books, that which most deserves a wide public is the *The Popular History of English Poetry*, and here he is precluded by the task he has set himself from much wandering in byways. The task is highly ambitious, more especially since it is performed in the compass of 280 pages, but it is performed almost to perfection."

Then there was his *Silver Treasury of English Lyrics* (Chapman and Hall, 1925) which is a sort of pendant to Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. Another book, which displays his wide range of studies, is *The Victorian Romantics* (Gerald Howe, 1929). I have not yet mentioned his masterpiece, *Back Numbers* (Constable, 1929), which is a reprint of his weekly articles in the old *Saturday Review* entitled the same over the signature of 'Stet.' His *Second Impressions* (Methuen, 1933) are also a collection of his weekly articles, this time in the *Week-end Review*, and over the same famous signature. In addition, he wrote *The Dinner Knell* (Methuen, 1932) and *One Man's India*, a fragment of his autobiography, which he did not live to complete, and which was published by the firm of Lovat Dickson in 1933. He was also the editor of the *Complete Works of Walter Savage Landor* (Chapman and Hall), which, however, are not "complete," as death snatched him away before he came to the end of his labours. As Mr. MacCarthe has lamented: "His magnificent edition of Landor is not complete, and, alas, it will now lack that study of Landor which he alone could have provided, and of which the literary world stands in need." Then there was *The Cellar Key* (Gollancz, 1933), which may be bracketed with Professor Saintsbury's *Notes on a Cellar Book*; and it may be mentioned in passing that, but for Welby's exhortation, those *Notes* of Professor Saintsbury would never have got themselves written.

During the four years between 1926 and 1930 the *Saturday Review* was undoubtedly the finest weekly in England. Its editor was Mr. Gerald Barry—now the Managing Editor of the *News Chronicle*. Mr. Barry is an editor in a thousand; and with the late Mr. Massingham shared, and shares, the distinction of being able to draw unto himself the best writers available. The *Saturday* of

those days was a journal that coruscated with brilliance in every line. Its chief support was Earle Welby as he was the chief support of Barry's next venture, *The Week-end Review*, also which flourished between March, 1930 and January, 1934. Messrs. J. B. Priestley and Edward Shanks and Ivor Brown and Gerald Gould and L. P. Hartley were the other regular contributors. Welby, besides writing the chief book-review of the week over his own name, used to write two columns on what he chose to call 'Back Numbers' that is, *re-reviewing*, so to speak, the reviews in the back numbers of the *Saturday Review*. These have since been reprinted in book-form, with the same title (Constable, 1929). One may safely say that this is Welby's masterpiece. Never before was seen such scholarship, style and wit all combined and compressed within the space of two columns. Welby's English was superb. It was as different from the common run of English writing as it might well be. It was, to clinch the matter, his own. It was simple at bottom, but whether simple or not, it was none of the easiest to understand if one was not already familiar with his twists and turnings. It was a trifle involuted, but his merit consisted in this, that by a peculiar sleight-of-hand he could make it fit in with the general pattern of his prose with what went before and with what followed afterwards, as well as confer upon it an unmistakable and unrivalled balance, proportion, rhythm, what you will. Just as it has been said that there is a spot of perfect calm at the heart of even the wildest commotion, so it may be argued that even when he frisked and gambolled to his heart's content his style conformed to the unwritten rules of that discipline without which no piece of composition can achieve any real distinction. He was by nature eloquent: words came to his pen almost unsought—in profuse strains of unpremeditated art as it were. It must have taxed him much to "curb," in Keats's immortal phrase, his inborn "magnanimity:" his *penchant* being rather, in that other equally immortal phrase of the same poet, to "load every rift with ore"—to "load" his every "rift" and to "load" it, too as full to the brim as possible. The reason for whatever complexity there might, at times, have been in his writing was that he was at pains to be exact in his expression and, to that end, had perforce to drag in qualifying and modifying clauses by the nape of their necks right into the middle of his sentences. But as I have already taken care to suggest, what in other hands might have resulted in more or less of

clumsiness escaped that doom under his expert management, and, on occasion, even enhanced its pristine splendour. He was not an inveterate phrase-maker like Mr. Ivor Brown, nor was a habitual coiner of metaphors and similes, like the late Mr. C. E. Montague. All the same, he was a better writer than either. When he was in the mood he could manufacture metaphors as well as the next man. Look at this:

"Meanwhile this mag (Frank Harris), whose right hand could have managed the *News of the World* while his left massaged the heart of the *Athenaeum* into beating, had written some stories." (*The Week-end Review*, Sept. 5, 1931.)

Is there no phrase-making in this passage?

"No bungling writer but has professed to be telling a plain unvarnished tale while getting ready vast quantities of the materials for varnishment. It was the distinction of Frank Harris in his best stories, that he not so much wrote a story as made us 'God's spies' on human action. Make no mistake, it requires genius to do it. The plain tale by the plain man is always coloured. At his best in the telling of stories Frank Harris made himself simply a pane of glass through which we look." (*Ibid.*)

What I want to drive at is that his writing did not need the aid of these things: they were excellent even without them.

There was another characteristic—and that was his irrepressibility. Though he was an Englishman, he could be exuberant. He was the sort of man who could add, after enumerating a list of his books:

"In Preparation, *A Study of Wine*.

In Arrears, Much.

In Excuse, Little."

I cannot, at this late hour, recall example after example, but I know from much familiarity with his works, that he was not, as a writer, frigid; and Mr. Shanks tells us that he was not so as a man, either. That he could be witty this quotation from his article on Miss Ethel M. Dell will show. *The Week-end Review*, Aug. 9, 1930):

"*Omnia vincit amor*, according to the statement engraved inside the ring given by one of Miss Dell's characters to another. And so it does,

with admirable consistence, in all the works of Miss Dell. Whether it be manifest in the superficially repellent, heavy-handed, golden-hearted buccaneer, or come in the politer British military type, terrible as an army with manners, in the end it conquers all. Since we know it is going to do so, and in the ordinary way, too, there ought to be comparatively little suspense. Every one of these women is condemned to matrimony 'with an indefinite reprieve.' Why excite ourselves about them? They will come through if not absolutely unscathed, at least deserving of that Order of Chastity, Second Class, which the Sultan in good faith conferred on the wife of the British diplomatic representative. In due course there will be little Nicky, little Pierre, and so on, while papa practises *couvade* in the clouds, for such is the way of eagles."

The literary criticism of Earle Welby may be divided, broadly, into two parts: that which he wrote, originally, under his own name, or "patronymic," as he preferred to call it, and from the beginning with an eye to eventual publication; and that which he sent to the press under an assumed name and probably with no settled idea of later on gathering them together within the covers of a book, or a series of books. These latter, as he himself would have it, partake more of the nature of "table-talk" than of criticism proper, and were published as from "Stet." I cannot, at this moment, guess the nature of the compulsive force that impelled him to this curious dichotomy, unless it can be equated with an unholy desire to puzzle his readers, to throw dust into their eyes. I have, let me interpolate, less—considerably less—than my fair share of human inquisitiveness, but, at the same time, I must, to be candid, own to an inordinate curiosity to get behind a *nom de guerre* to him whom it essays to conceal; and I am never more happy than when I successfully solve the riddle "on my own lonesome," as it were.

In this matter of "Stet" I was "flummoxed" for three or four months: "I sought it with thimbles, I sought it with care," but the hunting of the Snark was trivial, compared with this. Afterwards, however, I could prove by a sort of cumulative evidence—by diagrams, graphs, and the Law of Probabilities—that "Stet" and Welby were related so closely that "Stet's" right hand, in a manner of speaking, could not do anything without Welby's left immediately coming to know of it. There are some tricks of style, of quotation, of the general approach to a subject, of the *tout ensemble*, in short, that will give away a writer ere many summers pass. By this kind

of "internal evidence" I was, in my time, able to perceive that "Alpha of the Plough" was none other than Mr. A. G. Gardiner, that "Wayfarer" was Mr. H. W. Massingham, that "Solomon Eagle" was Mr. (now Sir) J. C. Squire, that "Y. Y." was Mr. Robert Lynd, and so on. The identification of Welby with "Stet" was a little more difficult than usual because, besides a "back number" or a "second impression" from "Stet" there used, invariably, to be an article from the authentic Welby himself; and since, in common practice, two articles from the same individual are not published in given issues of a paper, the mystery became doubly mystifying. But when it was, ultimately, cleared, readers whose chief interest is literature must have, as "Richard Sunne" (Mr. R. Ellis Roberts) put it in *Time and Tide* of March 4, 1933, "turned first to those two pages (in the *Week-end Review*, that is)—where "Stet" gave us the freedom of his library and where Earle Welby considered in his review the claims of a book of the week to be more than a book of the moment." He goes on:

"Thousands must have admired the skill, the scholarship, the courtesy, and the occasionally devastating power of exposure; but I doubt if anyone who has not attempted a similar task can appreciate the sheer virtuosity, the endurance, and the apparent ease with which Welby performed his work. There was rarely any sign of fatigue or boredom in his articles; and he communicated his enjoyment in literature in a way that had nothing of the condescension of the schoolmaster or the snob."

Though Welby wrote innumerable articles as "Stet," only a few of these have been included in the two subsequent publications that were compiled out of them: *Back Numbers* (Constable 1929), and *Second Impressions* (Methuen, 1933). As he himself declared, in his preface to the former, these are but the equivalent of "table-talk," so many "half-holidays" of a critic.

"Here I speak frankly, often rashly, out of the mood of the moment; and where there is reference back, it is not to myself in other and more responsible hours, but to what was said on the subject by others, long ago, in the *Review*, for which I write." (He refers to the *Saturday Review*.)

I can vouch for the fact that this "table-talk" is delicious to the last degree ; and that those who read it as it appeared week by week, from 1927 to 1933, first in the *Saturday Review*, and then in the *Week-end Review*, must have been extremely eager to read it over again when it attained to the dignity of book-form. Some things do not grow stale by repetition. In a phrase immortalised by Charles Lamb, they belong to the class of "perpetually self-reproductive volumes—Great Natures' Stereotypes." Welby's "table-talk" as well as criticism proper form part of this fraternity. There is a sort of "cut-and-come-again" quality about them. "Table-talk," in his hands, became a trumpet,

"Whence he blew soul-animating strains."

By the time he has reached the last sentence of his two columns we have had such discourse as "never was on sea or land." What large utterance the man had ! He would take a theme and pluck the heart out of it before we knew where we were. Within his limited space he could spread himself as only a master can. Indeed, he rarely gave one the impression that he was smarting under that handicap. As Mr. Desmond MacCarthy pertinently observed, in his obituary notice of him (to which I have referred already) in the *Week-end Review* of Feb. 25, 1933 :

"I admired the art with which he combined in his essays the results of an inquisitive pre-occupation with human nature and of literary judgment. Concision suited him. And what a fine compliment that is ! Only the full mind can afford to express itself briefly. In my opinion the essays which appeared over the signature of "Stet," and were afterwards published under the title of *Back Numbers* are his best work. They are moderate and animated. The critic often enters his subject by a side-path, yet before he has gone far his reader finds himself at a point whence the most comprehensive view can be obtained."

I do not deny that there were occasions when he seemed to take a rather undue advantage of the freedom that this form conferred upon him. Then he would let the Puck in him wander as he liked, "thorough brake, thorough briar." For instance, he once happened to devote his table-talk to Charlotte Brontë: at any rate, that was the

healing he gave to his article. Now, that gifted novelist was one with whom he had, in Charles Lamb's words, an "imperfect sympathy." So, he ought not to have chosen her at all for a peg whereon to hang his discourse. Or, having chosen her, he ought to have meted out to her the common courtesy of serious consideration even if, in the process, he was inclined to load the dice against her. It is true that in the four or five sentences in which her name occurred he went "all out" to "debunk" her. But that was, more or less, in the nature of a concession that was wrung out of him. For the most part he made that article an excuse for dancing like a derwish before the shrine of her much less distinguished sister, Emily. I am sorry to say that, with all his acuteness, he was, in this matter, what I may call an "Emilian." I am aware that, of late, the stock of Emily Bronte has "appreciated" considerably. But that is no reason that such an otherwise shrewd critic as Welby should have joined the band of her worshippers as against the incomparable Charlotte. I have read *Wuthering Heights*, and my conviction is that it is a very poor performance; and if I detest anyone in English fiction it is its hero, Heathcliff. I have never pored over a more dismal book than this same *Wuthering Heights*. Poor Currer Bell; I am sure the pendulum will swing again in her favour before long. Welby, then, had a blind spot or two. But let us not ponder over these: being, like the rest of us, but human, he was not perfect.

Like all first-class critics, Welby could go to the root of the matter. He was responsible for some of the wisest criticism extant on Meredith, Kipling, Shaw, and Harris. I share with Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch a weakness for "men-at-odds and the unpopular cause"; and, having perused what was written on Frank Harris when his *Bernard Shaw* appeared, I was glad to note that Welby at least kept his head. With but (I think) a single exception the whole of the English press barked at his heels like so many mad dogs. That single exception was Welby. He had always a soft corner in his heart for Harris. He was never tired of doing homage to him; and, when he saw how Harris was being attacked for his book on Shaw and how Shaw himself was being canonised, he came out with a most glorious

article in the *Fortnightly Review* for Jan., 1932, on "Frank Harris: Bernard Shaw: An Antithesis." Therein he was concerned to show that, in the eyes of posterity, Harris would be seen as a man of genius, while Shaw, the present hero, would be relegated to a second place, as but a man of talent. He was also concerned to show that, for all his daring polemics, Shaw is very shrewd at bottom, and that he has stage-managed his life with wonderful acumen. Here is one passage:

"And, having come to England, he (Shaw) proceeded, after some years of doing nothing in particular, to create a public for himself; whereas Frank Harris did little but alienate successively every section of his potential public. Mr. Shaw had great talent for the conduct of his life, and Frank Harris, for all his resourcefulness in shady enterprises, had next to none. So it comes about that today the man of genius is posthumously enjoying a success of disesteem, and even that only because his brok happens to be about Mr. Bernard Shaw, whereas the man of many talents is universally applauded."

He goes on to say:

"No one more adroit than Mr. Shaw in securing postponement of artistic judgment on his work; the cleverest lawyer in Chicago never got the evil day for his gunman client put off more ingeniously. But there is a limit to allowing a writer to evade judgment as he frisks about betwixt jest and earnest; would have us enjoy as economics what may not wholly delight us as drama, and applaud as drama what may seem perverse to us as economics; would have us tolerate the play for the brilliance of the preface or find importance in the preface because it emanates from the author of the play. It has been a great game, played with immense skill and unflagging energy, but it is about time someone called 'Stop!' to it."

He concludes:

"Mr. Shaw will unquestionably have his place in the history of the English theatre, in the history of English pamphleteering, and in the extremely comic history of what Socialists thought they thought; but, under the only aspect which concerns a critic of literature, *Elder Conklin* and the rest of a small and unattractive and memorable procession will matter, to a few fit judges, when only the writers of Teutonic and American theses are occupied with the majority of Mr. Shaw's works."

There is, it seems to me, nothing to be added to this but: "Amen!"

Welby's article on Kipling, in *Back Numbers*, is a magnificent performance. Many have written on that "Imperial Laureate," but none more profoundly than "Stet." As we read his effort we feel that he is stripping off the unessentials, one by one, from Kipling and exposing him to us "in his habit as he lived." He tells us, in fine, that, for all his *expertise* about the East, Kipling was superficial at bottom, that, though he had the knick-knacks and gadgets of a story-writer all right, he never got to that subtler truth, the *vraie verite*, about individuals that is the secret of a successful imaginative artist. In the piling on of relevant and irrelevant details, Welby suggests, Kipling was a past-master, but he adds a rider that the author of *Kim* usually came a cropper as regards "the spirit, Master Shallow ! the spirit." To quote his own words :

"What is worth noticing is a consequence of his method, a sort of side-by-side presentation of things in a world in which nothing seems to be retiring into the region of tangible things..... He will present us with the truth, but with a confidently carved horizontal slice of it, not with the hesitant plumbings of its depth. Truth is solid for him, whereas it is aqueous or vaporous with still greater writers."

Again :

"It is the business of the artist in literature, while indicating race and class and trade, to give us the voice of the man himself.....It is fine to be acquainted with the common language of Scotch first engineers when the engines—well, do not function ; but we want the differentiated voice of McAndrew."

He drives this argument home when he finally sums up :

"And it is not by accident, or because Mr. Kipling is more interested in animals than in human beings, for he is not, that the *Jungle Books* are so successful. What should a wolf do with individuality? How should a wolf not be *de race* ? Truth to type, ethnical or professional, and efficiency are the conditions to be satisfied before Mr. Kipling can rejoice in a character. The highly individualised creature who belongs to no herd, tribe, school, regiment, and the fumbler, fumble he as nobly as Hamlet, are of no use to him."

Before concluding my article let me stress this most important fact about Welby as a critic that, in Coventry Patmore's beautiful

pharse, he "loved the lovely that are not beloved." He tried to revive the fames of secondary poets like Philip Bourke Marston, Arthur O'Shaugnessy, and Eleanor Siddal: besides those of Gordon Hake, Thomas Ashe, W. J. Linton, Mary Coleridge, Jeffery Prowse, Charles Tennyson Turner, and Hartley Coleridge: most of whose names some of us might not have heard of, even, up to now. Welby was happy the while he did this revivalistic work. The reason was that he was so very much concerned for literature that he would not willingly let die any piece of memorable work. In this connexion it must also be stated that, in Welby's view, one must not be too fastidious about choosing subjects for criticism: if you have the stuff in you, you can treat even the minors in a major way, if I may put it so. As he expressed it, in the *Week-end Review* of August 1, 1931:

"Literature is doubtless not completely definable; yet there is this much to be sure about, that the personally felt, fully and sharply apprehended, minor subject is beyond measure more valuable than the nominally vast subject of which the writer is not in possession at all."

He clinches the matter in these words:

"A great writer makes the subject great; a good writer makes the subject good; and an ass makes the subject, whatever its magnitude in the mere enunciation of the title-page, assinine. These things are so. Let us be glad of it."

Let us be glad of it, indeed.

At Home and Abroad

" Welcome Our Dear Ones Back "

Poet Rabindranath Tagore was delighted when the news was conveyed to him that the Bengal Government have issued orders for the release of 1,100 detenus. He issued the following statement to the " United Press " representative who approached him for his opinion.

" In welcoming our dear ones back let us not forget to congratulate the Ministers for this generous act of political wisdom. No mere words can express our gratitude to Mahatmaji whose life's mission has been to open the gate of our political prison-house which is symbolized on a small scale in his effort for the release of the prisoners, some of whom were wrongly suspected and the rest guilty of acts that had a noble aim though directed through an utterly wrong path. The only way our people can truly acknowledge our gratitude is to strive honestly to create that moral atmosphere of non-violence which is the only true means of attaining our final emancipation. Mahatmaji has given such assurance on our behalf and if we fail to carry it out, we shall have betrayed the trust of our greatest benefactor."

Financial Relations with Indian Army

A striking precedent has been created by the Imperial Government in the financial relations with the Indian Army by a recommendation to Parliament to make a special grant of £600,000 to enable the Government of India to carry out mechanisation with the least possible delay.

Hitherto the Government of India were solely responsible for the maintenance of the Indian Army.

The imperial grant, which is contemplated, was announced by Lord Stanley, Under-Secretary for India, in the House of Commons. The reason for this is the magnitude of the capital expenditure involved. The grant will be made over three years beginning April 1 next.

Although the grant covers three years, ' Reuter ' learn that four to five years will probably elapse before mechanisation is complete owing to the problem of arranging reliefs. The plan to equip four out of five British cavalry should be under way by spring.

The contribution is also intended to cover provision of four machine-gun battallions. This will take a year to organise. As yet there is no suggestion that any Indian cavalry be mechanised though the question has been considered.

British military circles are gratified with and welcome the new arrangement.

Empire Air Mail Scheme

Definite information is now available about the inauguration of the Empire air mail scheme. As at present proposed, the scheme will come into operation so far as India is concerned from January 18 or 19 next.

The services will initially consist of two flying-boat services between England and Singapore, two flying-boat services between England and Karachi, two Atalanta landplane services connecting England and Karachi boats and running between Karachi and Calcutta *via* Delhi and one Hannibal landplane service running between Cairo, Baghdad and Bashra continuing to Karachi.

Chiang Kai-Shek to control Defence Operations

It is reported on reliable authority that Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek has resigned the Presidency of the Executive Yuan (Premiership) and intends to devote his whole time to the duties of Commander-in-Chief of China's armed forces. H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance, has succeeded to the Premiership while retaining his present portfolio.

The transfer of Government offices leaves the Supreme Inner War Council under Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek at the capital to carry on the campaign.

It is probable that the British Embassy will remain at Nanking for the time being. Meanwhile streams of fresh, well-equipped Chinese troops are marching eastward to strengthen the defences along the Shanghai-Nanking railway and Shanghai-Hangchow highway. At the same time further batches of officials and staff are leaving the capital. It is expected that all will have left by November 19.

Japanese reports from the Yellow River front state that the Chinese have retreated hastily across the river. The whole north bank for many miles on each side of the Tientsin-Pukow Trunk railway is in Japanese possession.

Japanese Ultimatum to France

"Japanese authorities have no intention of occupying the International Settlement in Shanghai," declared the Foreign office spokesman at a Press Conference.

When asked if there was any truth in the report that Japan had sent an ultimatum to France in connection with the alleged supply of munitions to China through French Indo-China, the spokesman asked the correspondents not to press the question.

He added that China much depends on munitions imported through Indo China and "what sort of steps would be taken by the French Government, depended much on its goodwill towards Japan."

Reliable French quarters discredit the report of an ultimatum.

Lords Debate on League Covenant

Elimination of Article sixteen of the League Government was suggested from two sides namely Viscount Sankey (Government Labourite) and Lord Stonehaven (Conservative) when the debate in the House of Lords resumed to-day.

Labourite Lord Noel Buxton pleaded for concession of the principle of restoration of German colonies. When that was done, he thought the idea

of adjustment could be freely discussed. Germans for example well understood the difficulty about Tanganyika. He thought that they were looking more to West Africa.

Replying for the Government Lord Swinton deprecated the requests for comprehensive statements of British policy and procedure as a disservice to the objects of securing an all-round settlement since what was needed was quiet discussion.

Paying a tribute to Lord Halifax as an ideal interpreter of English life and thought Lord Swinton hoped his visit to Germany would be treated circumspectly. Too much should not be expected from it and the worst service to any negotiations is to surround it with a tremendous glare of publicity.

Self-sufficient Italy

Signor Mussolini launched the second year of self-sufficiency campaign addressing meetings of industrial employers and employees. He declared that Italy must become a self-contained economic unit.

In the course of three meetings with economic advisers the Duce decided the amount of foreign food Italians may eat in the coming year. Beyond this amount no foreign currency will be available.

Canada-U. S. Trade Pact

Mackenzie King confirmed that Washington announcement that negotiations were contemplated for a new trade agreement between Canada and the United States. M. King said that he hoped that the New Agreement would be on as broad and comprehensive a basis as possible, but he would not comment on the possible surrender of some of Canada's preferences in the British Market to facilitate the United States-United Kingdom Agreement. He indicated that negotiations for the New Agreement would be proceeded with regardless of the development of Anglo-American Trade negotiations.

It is assumed here, however, that the Conferences on both agreements will now be closely allied and will reach a conclusion at the same time.

The present United States-Canadian Trade Agreement expires in 1938.

Rumanian Army

A further strengthening of the army will be one of the main tasks of the reformed Rumanian Government, announced M. Tatarescu after the Cabinet had taken the oath last night. Rural economy will be the principal aim of the Cabinet and a large programme of public works will be begun immediately.

Increase of Gold Stock

During the week ending November 11 the Bank of France gold stock increased by about twenty-one million sterling. This represents transference by the bank of gold acquired by the French control as a result of repatriation of French capital especially from America and shows that such repatriation must have been on a large scale.

Some suggest that the control transferred metal to the bank in order to create a good psychological atmosphere for the franc in order to forestall possible attacks on that currency owing to the coming repayment of forty million sterling London credit to the French railways.



News and Views.

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Hindu University Convocation

Among those who will attend the special Convocation of Benares Hindu University on December 28, will be Lord Lothian, an invitation to whom to address the Allahabad University Convocation aroused opposition from the students. and Sir James Jeans and Sir Arthur Eddington who will proceed to Calcutta to attend the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress.

Lord Lothian will address the students of Benares University during his visit.

It is understood that on the day previous to the Convocation there will be a meeting of the University Court when the degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*) will be conferred on His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala who was one of the earliest patrons of the University.

Patiala Chair

The Maharaja, it will be recalled, gave Rs. 5 lakhs as an initial gift and is now paying annually a sum of Rs. 24,000 for a Patiala Chair of Electrical Engineering and Technology.

This signal mark of honour to a patron of learning will be conferred on the Maharaja of Patiala in the presence of several other Ruling Princes who will include the Maharaja of Bikaner.

It is further understood that the Maharaja of Bikaner, who is Chancellor of the University, has given a sum of Rs. 25,000 to meet the immediate financial needs of the University and with this encouraging start Mr. V. A. Sundaram, Secretary of the collections committee and a member of the University Court, who is now in Delhi, will proceed to visit Rulers of other States including Gwalior, Bhopal, Jodhpur and Kotah.

Mr. Sundaram was recently in Kashmir where too, he met with an encouraging response to an appeal for funds.

It is further learnt that at a meeting of the University Court on December 27, the names of Pandit Govind Ballav Pant and Mr. Shrikrishna Sinha, Premiers of the United Provinces and Bihar respectively, and Mr. M. S. Aney will be proposed for election to the Court.

Study of Burma's Ice Age

Dr. De Terra, who left Calcutta for Rangoon, is the leader of an expedition sent out under the auspices of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and Harvard University.

The expedition, which is to undertake geological and archaeological investigations, will also include Mrs. De Terra, Dr. H. L. Movius of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University and Mrs. Movius.

They will stay in Burma for four months, one month in Java and will then return to the United States by the Philippines.

"The work," said Dr. De Terra, "will essentially be conducted on the same line as in 1935 when I carried out scientific researches in the Kashmir and Siwalik Hills. We are particularly anxious to study the geologica

history of the Ice Age in Burma and the "pre-history" of Man in so far as it is recorded by Stone Age cultures and fossil remains.

Field Work

"The expedition will be in the field for four months, and we will be working mainly in the dry belt of Upper Burma and south of Mandalay. Here signs of prehistoric cultures have appeared from time to time, and for the last few years stone handicrafts were found at various places along the Irrawadi river. These indicate the existence of early human occupations dating back to the Ice Age.

"One of the major objects of this study is to correlate the geological and archaeological records of early Man with those found in India and Java. To realize this aim the expedition will proceed from Burma towards the end of March to Java, where similar researches are now being carried out under the auspices of the Carnegie Institutions of Washington."

Referring to the expedition which he led to Kashmir, Dr. De Terra said that there they investigated the geological history of the Kashmir Himalayans and adjoining foothills, during the Ice Age period. They found out that the region had suffered four major Ice advances just as the Alps had experienced intermittent advances of glaciers during the same period.

Allahabad College Dispute

A dispute has arisen between the authorities and students of the Ewing Christian College over the question of hoisting the National Flag over the College building. The authorities say that Dr. Z. A. Ahmad (Socialist) should not have been invited to perform the ceremony and that they have no objection if any one from the College itself performs it.

The students are against this dictation and are adamant about Dr. Ahmad doing it. As a result the authorities have closed the college indefinitely. The students are holding meetings and demonstrations.

While this disturbance is on, the University of Allahabad after protracted negotiations between the University Union and the University Executive Council, have reached an agreement to allow the hoisting of the flag over the University building on all national occasions, provided the flag is removed the same day.

During the coming University Jubilee Celebrations no flag of any denomination will fly over the University buildings.

Free Primary Education

The Government scheme of free primary education will be given effect to in the district of Mymensingh in January next.

For the present three classes of schools will be started according to local needs, until primary education is made compulsory. There will be schools with 85 students or more with 3 teachers in each of them, there will be a second class of schools with 50 students or more with 2 teachers and there will be a third class with 30 students or more with one teacher in each.

Until compulsion is enforced, attempts will be made to increase the number of students as much as possible by persuasion. It is contemplated that every teacher will take charge of 45 students.

The schools will be restricted to boys and girls between 6 and 10 years of age. Tuition work will be entrusted to trained teachers only. For the present untrained men will have to be taken, if sufficient number of them are not available.

The classes will be held at noon. The boys in the lowest class will have their lessons first and after they have finished, others will be brought in.

Some difficulty is being felt in starting all the schools at a time for want of funds. To meet this difficulty Mr. J. B. Kindersley, District Magistrate, and President of the District School Boards, has appealed to the public to provide these schools with houses according to the approved plan.

Art in Everyday Life

Coinciding with the International Convention of the Theosophical Society an Exhibition of Art in the Indian Home will be held in the Blavatsky Hall, Adyar, Madras, from December 24 to January 2 next under the auspices of the International Academy of Arts.

The purpose of the exhibition is to show the place of Art in the everyday life of the Indian citizens. The exhibits will be beautiful and artistic, Indian-made and Indian in design and colour and at the same time of practical value. Household articles in addition to pictures, statues and other works of art will be exhibited and a small Indian house will be arranged and decorated as an Indian home.

During the exhibition there will be four entertainments, consisting music, dance and drama by the members of the Academy.

Nobel Prize for Peace

A message from Stockholm announces the award of the Nobel Prize for Peace to Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, President of the League of Nations Union.

The leading and most ardent English advocate of the League of Nations, and the embodiment of the new spirit of internationalism Lord Cecil has made the promotion of peace a passionate pursuit, and in 1927 he retired from office in the Conservative Ministry in order to devote the whole of his time to the task of identifying the League of Nations with the national consciousness.

The Nobel Peace Prize is valued at about £6,500. It is awarded each year to the person who has contributed most largely to the common good in the task of the preservation of peace. The Nobel prizes were founded by the Swedish scientist Alfred Nobel, inventor of dynamite, who died in December, 1896, leaving a fortune of about £1,750,000. Other Nobel prizes are for Physics, Chemistry, Medicine or Physiology, and Literature.

Miscel'any

THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF JAPAN IN 1893, 1903 AND 1936

"At the time of the wars with China and Russia, the Japanese economy proved its elasticity. A comparison of our present economy with the two war periods reveals at once the fact that war expenditures of 2,000 or 3000 million Yens would be nothing," says Mr. K. Ishiyama, editor of the economic journal, *Diamond* (Tokyo).

The basic figures of present-day economy compare with those at the time of the wars in question as shown in the accompanying table:

Comparative Wartime Economic Conditions (in Yen 1,000)

	1893 (Chinese War)	1903 (Russian War)	Present (1936)	Comparison with 1893 (times)	Comparison with 1903 (times)
Notes issued ...	129,732	201,848	1,339,945	10.3	6.6
Specie reserve ...	85,920	116,962	1,425,000	16.5	12.2
Bank deposits ...	111,479	751,428	13,968,000	125.3	18.5
Paid-up corporate capital	249,763	887,606	16,726,667	67.0	18.8
Value of foreign trade ...	177,970	668,638	5,725,873	32.1	9.4
Revenue and expenditure	197,351	509,817	4,617,091	23.4	9.0

Note.—The specie reserve for 1936 is calculated at the rate of Yen 13.00 per momme of gold.

The table demonstrates that the present-day economy of Japan in comparison with the year 1894-5, has increased at least tenfold and in some instances 60 or 70 times. Compared with the time of the war with Russia, the Japanese economy is 6 to 7 times larger and in some respects even 12 to 18 times. It is regrettable, however, that production figures, which are highly important to a discussion of this sort, are not available for the two war periods. The nearest such figures are for the year 1909, which follow, and even these do not include statistics for agricultural production.

Comparison of Production (in million of yen).

	1909	1936
Agricultural ...	—	2,081
Industrial ...	772	10,836
Mining ...	103	504
Commerce ...	68	335
Forestry ...	115	297
Total	1,059	15,055

The production of 1935 reached Y 15,000 million. The figure last year must have exceeded the Y 16,000 million-mark. Production for 1909 amounted only to Y 1,000 million, without taking agricultural production into account. But since agricultural production for the year 1917 was valued at Y 1,600 million, the gross production figure for 1909 could not have exceeded Y 2,500 or 2,600 million at most. Production prior to the war with Russia was even less. If the figure is assumed to be roughly Y 2,000 million, production now is 8 times greater.

At the time of the war with Russia a total of Y 480 million was raised by bond emission while hostilities were in progress. Eight times that would be Y 3,600 million. So if war bonds were now issued to the extent of Y 2,000 or Y 3,000 million, there is apparently no reason why they should not be disposed of without much trouble. This is how Japanese economists are appraising the financial staying-power of Japan in regard to the present War in China.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SEVENTH CENTURY OF BERLIN

With its 700 years Berlin is one of the youngest of Europe's capitals. Up to the time of Frederick II, Berlin was a "*Buergerstadt*" and until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War was little affected by the tumult of wars, nor had it anything to do with world trade. During the course of these Wars Berlin and the Mark were occupied by Royal Troops, as a result of which it had to suffer all the destructive consequences of war, and by 1640 the city was reduced to poverty and oppression.

With the coming of Frederick the Great increased efforts were made to enlarge and improve the town. The Opera House was built, the "Tiergarten" became a public park, formed in accordance with the prevailing taste. Stress was also laid on the importance of industry. The manufacture of cotton and silk was undertaken: the porcelain and china produced became world renowned. Science and art were cultivated: the population increased and the town grew. The Napoleonic Wars of 1806 and 1807, however, almost deprived the Prussian town of its political independence: but Jena and the Peace of Tilsit gave the impetus to the founding of a new city.

In 1810 the University was founded: trade experienced a revival with the introduction of the railway in 1838. The establishment of the German Empire in 1871 made Berlin the capital city, when action was taken towards reaching constitutional stabilisation.

Up to this point Berlin had been steadily expanding and revealing its powers as a world-centre for machine and electrical industries, with which latter development the names of Siemens and of Borsig will be immediately associated. By 1861 the population figures had reached half a million; this increase demanded a corresponding expansion of the city and of its traffic facilities. The world of art, literature and music, too, flourished at this time, represented by Dahn, Storm, Heyse and Fontane in the world of letters, Lortzing of Opera fame, Menzel, the artist; and it was at this time that Wagner struggled for acknowledgment. In 1869 the College of Music was established.

There was a definite prosperity swing in Berlin followed by a period of colossal development. From 1871 to 1890 the population increased from 900,000 to 1,900,000 and in the following 20 years to 3 millions. Building schemes could not keep pace with the demand of the increasing population,

and in the race to cope with the demand, style was sometimes sacrificed to speed. Not so the hygienic measures: canalisation, cleanliness, scientific improvement in the realm of municipal health and welfare were always regarded as matters of first importance, and it is in this sphere that the scientist and medical research worker, Rudolf Virchow, played a significant part. The consistent observance of these hygienic measures has contributed much towards lending Berlin the unique character of a city without slums. In 1879 the *Technische Hochschule*, now of world repute, was founded; and in 1911 the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft*, also world-famed for its scientific research, opened its doors to scholars from all countries. This was a period of prosperity, when music, the theatre, literature and art in general flourished.

With the outbreak of the World War in 1914 years of suffering and eventually of collapse followed in Germany. In 1918 moral and economic decadence followed upon the revolution. In spite of an apparent boom in 1927-29, the economic system had collapsed. In 1933 there were 655,000 unemployed in Berlin alone, the birthrate had declined alarmingly, the whole situation was desperate. With the coming of National Socialism in 1933, social measures were introduced to alleviate the situation, unemployment was gradually reduced, and building schemes were promoted. Road-construction and, of late, the additional work in connection with the execution of the Four Year Plan of "autarchy" (self-sufficiency) have claimed many specialist workers out of the ranks of the unemployed. The social, educational and cultural measures introduced by the national-socialist government have not only succeeded in uniting the whole *Reich* but have altered the face of Berlin.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN

The two social insurance measures which the Government of the United Kingdom announced at the end of 1935 did not come before Parliament in 1935. They figure, however, on the legislative programme for 1937. The first of these measures is the establishment of a scheme of voluntary old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance for persons of limited means who are not liable to insurance. The second is the reduction of the age of entry into national health insurance so as to coincide with the school-leaving age, thereby securing continuity of medical care at the transition from school to employment. The Government also proposes to assist the blind by granting them a non-contributory pension at the age of 40, instead of 50 as at present.

The proposed voluntary pension insurance scheme will provide old-age pensions at the age of 65 and widows' and orphans' pensions, at the same rates as those granted under the compulsory scheme. Persons entering during the first year for which the scheme is in force will be insured under very favourable conditions. They will be accepted at any age up to 55, and pay a low uniform contribution. A large proportion of the benefits of these initial entrants will fall to be borne by the State. Persons entering afterwards will only be admitted up to the age of 40, and will have to pay contributions proportionate to their age at the date of entry. The scheme is intended for small shopkeepers, farmers, dressmakers and other persons working on their own account and also for persons of small independent means.

The proposal to lower the age of entry into health insurance is in harmony with the Government's recent decision to follow a vigorous policy for the improvement of the nation's physique, and may perhaps be an earnest of further steps to improve the preventive and curative efficacy of the health insurance scheme.

Any improvement, however, would require additional resources. In this connection the steady fall in the level of unemployment is very helpful. It would seem that from this cause the contribution-income of health insurance in 1936 will be found to have exceeded the 1935 figure by at least £750,000. Meanwhile voluntary effort is beginning to fill one of the gaps in the curative benefits of health insurance. Some two million persons now contribute under a scheme of insurance which secures them free hospital treatment.

A movement to make the old-age pension an instrument for reduction of unemployment has been active for some years past. The demand is for a higher rate of pension to be granted on condition of retirement from industry and if possible at the age of 60 instead of the present age of 65.

At the Labour Party Conference in 1936 resolution to this effect was unanimously adopted. The Government's view, however, is that the grant of a higher pension at a lower age would be uneconomical as a remedy for unemployment; the pension would in practice have to be granted, not only to persons of pensionable age now employed who consent to retire, but also to all those who have already left industry and to those who would have retired under present conditions of their own accord; furthermore, those consenting to retire on pension would be replaced by a smaller number of younger persons.

Without waiting for State action, however, the more prosperous firms and industries are themselves setting up pension schemes to supplement the benefits of the general compulsory scheme. At least 500,000 industrial workers are covered by such schemes, the number of which continues to grow year by year. Among those introduced in 1936 may be mentioned that of the United Steel Company with 20,000 workers and that of Imperial Chemical Industries with 43,000.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE COMMON IDEALS OF FASCISM AND NATIONAL-SOCIALISM

Like Fascism in Italy, the national revolution had given Germany a new faith. I believe that the cause of much misunderstanding and mistrust between the peoples lies in the fact that the responsible men do not know the new reality which is being created.

If people knew the national revolutions of Germany and Italy better, many prejudices would cease to exist, and many points of dispute lose their reason for existence.

Both the Fascist and National-socialist revolutions had a high conception of work as the token of human nobility. Both based their strength on their youth, which they trained by discipline, courage, endurance, pacifism and contempt for a life of comfort.

The resurrected Roman Empire is the work of this new spirit which inspires Italy. The German rebirth is also the work of a spiritual force, faith in an idea in which once only a single man believed, then a troop of champions and martyrs, then a minority, and finally a whole people.

Germany and Italy follow the same aims, too, in the field of economic self-sufficiency. Without economic independence the political independence of a nation is made doubtful and a people of great military strength can fall a victim on an economic blockade.

We have seen this defeat threatening us when 52 nations gathered at Geneva determined on the criminal economic sanctions against Italy, those sanctions which were to be carried through in all their harshness but did not attain their goal, but rather gave Fascist Italy the opportunity to prove to the world her power to resist.

In spite of all pressure Germany did not join in the sanctions. We shall never forget it. This was the point at which for the first time the existence of a necessary co-operation between National-Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy made its appearance.

What is now called the Berlin-Rome axis arose in the autumn of 1935 and in the last two years has done great work for an ever closer drawing together of our two peoples and for the political strengthening of European peace.

The moral principle of Fascism is loyalty, and this coincides with my personal ethics—to speak clearly and frankly and, when I have a friend, to march with him to the end.

There is no dictatorship either in Germany or Italy. They have forces and organisations which exist to serve the people.

No government in any part of the world possesses the agreement of its people to the same extent as the governments of Germany and Italy. The greatest and most genuine democracies which the world knows to-day are the German and Italian.

Elsewhere under the mantle of 'the inalienable rights of man' politics are ruled by the power of money, capital, secret societies, and mutually hostile political groups. In Germany and Italy it is quite out of the question for private forces to be able to influence the policy of the State.—Mussolini's Address to Germany at Berlin, September 28, 1937.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Brahmana-Roman Catholic Samvad (Argument between a Roman Catholic and a Brāhmaṇa)—by Dom Antonio ; edited by Prof. Surendranath Sen, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT., published by the Calcutta University, 1937, Introduction, pp. 76, Index.

Both Professor Sen and the University of Calcutta are to be congratulated upon bringing out this dainty little volume, containing the text of a Seventeenth century Bengali prose work, Brāhmaṇ-Roman Catholic Samvad, by Dom Antonio—the text constituting, as it does, the earliest known specimen of Bengali prose style. Dom Antonio was originally a Bengali prince hailing from Bhusnā (in Jessore), but was eventually destined to be converted to Christianity by a Portuguese Missionary and bear this Portuguese name. What little information about the personal history of this Bengal-born Pādri is available has been carefully gathered and recorded by Prof. Sen in his learned Introduction, and we are no more warranted to conjecture that Dom Antonio is 'a semi-legendary figure.'

The importance of the publication lies not so much in the establishment of the historicity of Dom Antonio, the author, as, mainly, in that his work reveals, from the standpoint of language, a close resemblance between the Bengali prose of the latter-half of the seventeenth century and that of the former half of the nineteenth century, and to the students of old Bengali language and philology the importance is very great, indeed. The work which is of the nature of a dialogue between a Roman Catholic Missionary and a Brahmin Pundit over the superiority of their religious beliefs, is characterised by the occurrence in it of a good many words and expressions of East Bengal, which are now almost, or wholly, obsolete, and it is gratifying to note that Professor Sen has succeeded to bring out in most cases the true import thereof. Professor Sen had had also to undergo a lot of troubles in restoring the text of this Bengali work from the original manuscript which is in Roman characters—the Portuguese writers of Bengali not having always followed a common or definite system of transliteration and orthography, but much of his labours will be repaid if those limited few who are interested in old Bengali language and literature receive the volume favourably.

There are, however, a few printing mistakes in the book but that will not in any way detract from the merit of the publication.

The volume contains an exhaustive Index, and the dedication of such a publication to 'the son of Asutosh in his post' is happy.

GIRIJAPRASANNA MAJUMDAR

Cloud and the Clear Sky—By K. C. Sen, Madaripur (Bengal), price Rs. 2.

The book under review is for the most part a letter written to Aurobindo which contains among other things a detailed criticism of his fundamental tenets. It is welcome especially in view of the fact that many have already been confounded by the extravagant claims made by Aurobindo in

regard to the spiritual regeneration of the world that is yet to take place, and it will doubtless prove helpful to one, at least to some extent, in one's critical approach to Aurobindoism.

But it is not too much to say that the criticism is overdone. In the three sections of the book the author harps on the selfsame theme ; in the prelude he practically finishes all that he has to say ; he nevertheless drags in the very theme for further threshing in the second section which is rendered prolix by repetitiousness in spite of the fact that there is a fine display of learning, and in the last a crystallization of Aurobindoism is attempted, which is evidently marred by some adventitious additions to the original stuff.

The author begins his letter by detailing the defects and shortcomings of those whom he calls ' spare-time ' Sadhakas, i.e., those who slave at office and sing out praise of Aurobindo at home. But it will take very little sense to see that, whatever the defects of the disciples, Aurobindo cannot be held responsible on that account; for a *guru* who can heal a troubled soul is scarcely to be found, the development of a disciple's self being on that score in ordinary circumstances but gradual. The alleged defects of Aurobindo's household disciples give no cause whatever for alarm, nor can these be construed into some imperfections on his part.

The wit of the author is not, however, exhausted over the consideration of Aurobindo's disciples. It, on the contrary, appears at its best in examining the very core of the spiritual philosophy of the school of Pondicherry, namely, the doctrine of Supermanhood Supramental Light and the coming Supramentalized human race ; there is no doubt that he sometimes lays his finger on the crux of Aurobindoism; but unfortunately in his critical estimate he is visibly influenced, in spite of himself, by passion and ill-feeling. His criticism therefore turns out all vituperation which he undertakes presumably for his own dilectation. But one can scarcely derive any benefit from a vilification of an illustrious personage, even when put in print. The author seems to have dug deep into the English vocabulary in search of all possible opprobrious epithets to pour out upon Aurobindo. There will, however, be some relief for the reader who has not taken leave of good taste to know that Aurobindo is past the stage at which ridicule cuts one to the quick. It is not then that the epithets are all without a use, they serve at any rate to relieve the passionate critic of the oppression of the bitter feelings he seems to have been entertaining towards the scholar-mystic of Pondicherry.

It is nothing uncommon in this world that people differ from one another on a particular matter, and such difference is nothing peculiar in the realm of philosophy and religion. It is also observed that people differ in the mode of expressing their difference. Sometimes it is found that two persons continue to be close friends in spite of a clearage of opinion on the outlook of life or on other matters. Instances are also not wanting wherein any difference of opinion brings passion into play, puts *lathis*, brickbats or bullets into action. There are then, broadly speaking, two distinct modes of differing. One is a gentleman's mode and the other the mob's method ; though it is true that one man by himself cannot make a mob, yet there is no denying that mob psychology may control a man's mind. The author's mode of differing with Aurobindo illustrates an aspect of mob-psychology and the mob's method. In his enlightened opinion, Aurobindo is a ' moneyist,' an impostor, a swindler and so forth. None can, of course, deny him the right of free judgment, but it will be universally agreed that one can criticize another's opinion with grace and good feelings, keeping clear of what is called vulgarism in thought and

in its expression. Fortunately the missiles that are hurled at Aurobindo are not murderous ; they by their very nature cannot inflict any bodily injuries on any one. They can nevertheless provoke a counter-attack which may prove too much for the hurler to resist. Aurobindo, however, cannot stoop so low as to launch a counter-offensive, and this shows that he is at least a far better *man* than his critic. One with an element of humour and a sense of proportion will find the major portion of the book highly amusing, though not exactly interesting.

Readers will be all the more amused when they will come to read the last section right through where the author presents himself not solely as a critic of Aurobindo, but as one who gibes at religion and everything and everyone religious. Ramkrishna is already damned and sent to hell for his alleged muddle-headedness. Rabindranath, Romain Rolland, Radhakrishnan and all those who care anything for religion are jeered at. And it seems that he runs amok. Thus, Radhakrishnan is charged with insincerity and cheating his audiences both in India and England. But it is amazing to see that the author, posing as he does as wiser than the wisest, is not intelligent enough to distinguish between 'religion' and 'religions,' and has not the wit to grasp the double import of the word 'religions' which Sir Sarvapalli made use of in the contexts whereto his criticism is directed. We are made to believe that there is only one man under the sky who is not guided by policy, and is inspired in his activities by Truth. This man is no less a person than Mr. K. C. Sen of Madaripur, the learned critic of Aurobindo. To him truth is all that matters and that is why he, as he himself declares, cares little for etiquette which is but a convention. Readers may then well wonder at the insinuation that truth is more compatible with vulgarism than with the perfection of good taste and the refinement of manners, and finally at the book itself viewed as a whole and may well ask: how could this scurrilous rag be published.

A. C. DAS

Ourselves

[I. *The Late Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose.*—II. *Indian Science Congress—Silver Jubilee Celebration*—III. *Sir James Hopwood Jeans.*—IV. *Puspalata Biswas Endowment.*—V. *Mr. S. P. Mookerjee.*—VI. *University Delegates.*—VII. *University Representative on the Text-Book Committee*—VIII. *Archaeological Exploration*—IX. *Election of Ordinary Fellows*—X. *Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri*—XI. *Tenth International Chemical Congress.*—XII. *A New D Sc.*—XIII. *Second Indian Cultural Conference.*—XIV. *Dr. Sudhindranath Ghosh.* XV. *Professor Syud Hossain*—XVI. *A New Fellow.*]

I. THE LATE SIR JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE

By the death of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, which occurred on Tuesday, November 23 at Giridi, where the end came quite unexpectedly, the world has lost one of the greatest scientists of our times. To his countrymen and to those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately, Sir Jagadish was, besides being a scientist of the first order, a seer and philosopher who had realised life's unity not only by his biological researches but by an inner vision in which he seemed rapt. He had a gift of expression in Bengali which entitled him to the admiration of his countrymen who have only to regret that he did not write more. He was indeed anxious to enrich the scientific vocabulary in Bengali and gave Sanskritic names to the various inventions he had made.

This is not the place to attempt anything like a detailed biography of this great man. He was born on November 30, 1858, and was educated in Calcutta and later at Christ's College, Cambridge. On his return to India he joined the staff of the Presidency College from which he retired in 1916 continuing, however, his association with it as Emeritus Professor. For many years he had to struggle hard against lack of sympathy among officials and the want of suitable laboratory facilities, hampering the progress of his investigations. In 1896 he was invited by the British Association at Liverpool to give a demonstration of his discoveries in the field of Electricity. Eminent scientists including Lord Kelvin and Oliver Lodge attended his lectures with great interest and enthusiasm and congratulated him on his notable contributions. In spite of occasional opposition his career from this time until the end was one of triumphant progress and increasing recognition. He was frequently invited by different

learned societies abroad to lecture to them on his experiments and discoveries. By his researches he was able to establish himself as one of the world's greatest authorities on plant life. His chief invention is the Crescograph by which the movement of plant tissues, not visible to the naked eye, can be magnified 100,000 times to aid the observation of their reactions to manures, poisons, and other stimuli. He had also done invaluable work in wireless telegraphy. He founded the Bose Research Institute in Calcutta to prepare a band of scientists who would be able to continue the work he had begun.

Sir Jagadish had been associated with the Calcutta University as an Honorary Fellow since 1889.

He was decorated by the Government with the Order of the Companion of the Indian Empire in 1903 and with that of the Companion of the Star of India in 1911 and was later knighted. He was honoured by a Fellowship of the Royal Society.

To Lady Abala Bose who survives her illustrious husband we offer our heartfelt condolences.

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II. INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS—SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATION

The twenty-fifth session of the Indian Science Congress, which will celebrate its Silver Jubilee, will be held in Calcutta from the 3rd to the 9th January, 1938.

The sudden demise of Lord Rutherford who was elected President of the Congress was a great loss to the cause of Science and to the Congress which had found in the great physicist a leader after its heart. The void has been filled by the election of Sir James Hopwood Jeans to the office.

The Congress has decided to meet in joint session with the British Association for the Advancement of Science so that it can worthily celebrate the occasion. The organisers expect that that no less than one hundred delegates will come from Great Britain and that other countries too will be well-represented in the Congress. In India, too, the membership of the Congress, it is expected, will greatly increase.

The Indian Science Congress Association will issue a detailed programme of the Annual Meeting to its Members in the course of

December. This will contain summaries of papers accepted for reading in the different sections of which there will be thirty-three in all.

Airrangements have been made for a conducted tour of the delegates to the important cities in India and to other places of special interest.

We hope that the discussions that will take place at the Annual Meeting of the Congress will not only serve to throw light on various problems in the world of Science but will also stimulate enthusiasm for scientific studies in this country.

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III. SIR JAMES HOPWOOD JEANS

Sir James Hopwood Jeans, M.A., D.S.C., LL.D., the brilliant mathematician and astronomer, who will preside over the twenty-fifth session of the Indian Science Congress to be held jointly with the British Association for the Advancement of Science has done notable work in applied mathematics. As a popularizer of modern scientific ideas, his reputation is very high and his books like "Through Space and Time," "The Universe Around Us" and "The Mysterious Universe" have won for him a reputation to which few savants can lay claim. He was Professor of Applied Mathematics at Princeton University for about five years and was for ten years Secretary to the Royal Society. Dr. Jeans was Stokes Lecturer in Applied Mathematics at Cambridge for about two years. He has been Research Associate of Mount Wilson Observatory since 1923 and was knighted in 1928. His publications include "Theory of Electricity and Magnetism," "Problems of Cosmogony and Stellar Dynamics," "Atomicity and Quanta," "Eos, or the Wilder Aspects of Cosmogony." His researches cover a wide field and he has everywhere established an enviable reputation for great originality and powers of observation. We extend to this eminent scientist and philosopher a cordial welcome and hope that the connexion thus established with India will lead to fruitful results in the future.

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IV. PUSPALATA BISWAS ENDOWMENT

We are glad to learn that the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Charuchandra Biswas has intimated that he does not propose to draw any remuneration from the University for acting as an examiner or paper-setter

or for any other work, requesting that any sums already due or undrawn or that may be due in future may be funded for the creation of an endowment to be named after his deceased daughter Puspallata Biswas.

We congratulate Mr. Justice Biswas for this public spirit and trust that others will follow his example.

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V. MR. S. P. MOOKERJEE

We are glad to announce that our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, M.L.A., has been elected to the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, from the North-Eastern Group of Indian Universities.

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VI. UNIVERSITY DELEGATES

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, K.T., M.A., D.LITT., King George Professor of Mental and Moral Science, will represent the University as its delegate at the All-India Philosophical Congress to be held at Nagpur towards the end of December, 1937.

Professor Jitendraprasad Niyogi, M.A., PH.D., Minto Professor of Economics, has been appointed a delegate of the University to represent it at the 21st Annual Indian Economic Conference which will be held at Hyderabad from the 29th to the 31st December 1937.

Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., PH.D., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, has been appointed a delegate to represent the University at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Trivandrum in December, 1937.

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VII. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE TEXT-BOOK COMMITTEE

We are glad to announce that Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A., our Joint-Secretary and Secretary to the Councils of the Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science, has been selected to be the University

representative on the Committee appointed for examining books for secondary schools.

* * *

VIII. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION

Mr. H. J. H. Drummond of Cambridge, a member of the Yale-Cambridge North India Expedition, which had collected pre-historic material in India in 1935, is again coming this winter to India to resume his survey in Karnool District. It is felt necessary that one or two Indian students should accompany him during his tour and the University, willing to avail itself of the opportunity, has sent up the name of Mr. Dharanimohan Sen, M.A., for this purpose. It is hoped that the co-operation offered by the University will be accepted.

* * *

IX. ELECTION OF ORDINARY FELLOWS

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to direct that steps may be taken by the Syndicate for the election of one Ordinary Fellow by the Registered Graduates and one Ordinary Fellow by the Faculty of Arts under Sections 7 and 9 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904.

His Excellency has appointed the following dates for holding the election :

Election by the Registered Graduates ... 20th January, 1938.

Election by the Faculty of Arts ... 5th January, 1938.

It is to be noted in this connection that the term of office of the undermentioned Fellows will expire on the dates mentioned against their names :—

Elected by the Registered Graduates—

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., 28th February, 1938.

Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.

Elected by the Faculty of Arts—

Rai Bahadur Professor Khagendranath Mitra, 21st January, 1938.

M.A.

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X. PROFESSOR HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI

Professor Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., PH.D., our Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, has been appointed a representative of this University at the next session of the Indian Historical Records Commission which will be held at Lahore on the 16th and 17th December 1937, in place of Professor Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., PH.D., who is unable to attend for unavoidable reasons.

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XI. TENTH INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL CONGRESS

The Tenth International Chemical Congress will be held at Rome from the 16th to the 21st May 1938. The University has conveyed to the authorities of the Congress its good wishes but regretted its inability to send any representative on this occasion.

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XII. A NEW D.Sc.

We offer our congratulations to Mr. Srish Chandra Sengupta, whose thesis on Dehydrogenation and the Chemistry of Santenone has been declared to be of sufficient merit for the award of a Doctorate in Science of this University. The examiners were Mr. Harold King, F.R.S., Dr. Otto Rosenheim, F.R.S., F.I.L.S., and Professor Jocelyn Thorpe, C.B.E., F.R.S.

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XIII. SECOND INDIAN CULTURAL CONFERENCE

The Second Indian Cultural Conference was held at the Senate House, Calcutta University, from December 4th to December 7th, 1937, under the auspices of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. The conference was a great success.

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XIV. DR. SUDHINDRANATH GHOSH

Dr. Sudhindranath Ghosh, D.LITT., of the League of Nations, who was invited to deliver a course of lectures in this University on

“Post-War Europe: A Survey of conflicting Ideologies” as an Extension Lecturer spoke on the subject for three days before a packed house in the Asutosh Hall.

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XV. PROFESSOR SYUD HOSSAIN

Professor Syud Hossain, lecturer in History of Civilization at the University of Southern California, who was appointed a special University Reader, delivered a course of three lectures at the Asutosh Hall before a large and distinguished audience.

The subjects on which he spoke were: The European Crisis, The Far Eastern Crisis, and America of Today.

The meeting was presided over by our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

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XVI. A NEW FELLOW

Mr. S. Wajid Ali, B.A. (CANTAB.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, has been nominated by His Excellency the Chancellor to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University *vice* Mr. A. H. Harley, resigned.

